

**AN EXAMINATION OF DOMESTIC LIFE  
AT THE MORLEYVILLE MISSION, MORLEY, ALBERTA (EhPq-6)**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The Morleyville Methodist Mission located near Morley, Alberta, was occupied from 1873 to 1921 (approximate date of abandonment). The Reverend George McDougall and his son John were responsible for the establishment of the mission. Both men were prominent figures in the history of the settlement and development of Alberta and the Canadian northwest. John was a major participant in the settlement of Treaty 7 and the arrival of the N.W.M.P. in the west.

The mission site was excavated over two field seasons in 1984-85 by Dr. Margaret A. Kennedy, now of the University of Saskatchewan. The resultant artifact assemblage contains in excess of 25,000 items, largely in a fragmentary state. Of this number approximately 3,000 artifacts were considered for analysis.

The focus of this current research is an examination of the mission's domestic sphere, specifically as it applied to women and Methodism. For the purpose of this research only the categories of "Ceramics", "Other Glass", and "Bottles and Jars" were considered. Though the Morleyville Mission was occupied during the Victorian era, historic literature and documents tell us little of the reality of the domestic sphere at a frontier site. The domestic elaboration of the Victorian era has been well documented. However, whether such elaboration was the case at the mission site was open to some speculation.

Therefore, these categories were assessed as providing the most accurate reflection of the domestic life of the mission households. It is believed that the presence and absence of specific ceramic waretypes and the identification of patterned sets will help illuminate this issue. It was hoped that, by using these categories to examine the domestic life of these middle-class Victorian Methodists a more accurate picture of the domestic life of the inhabitants of a mission on the northwest frontier of Canada could be developed.

However, it is with caution that I put forth my conclusions for the Morleyville Mission. Though the Archeological evidence does not support my initial objectives, this

thesis has succeed in providing important information regarding the domestic lifestyle at the Morleyville Mission and indicates that other factors were active at the site.



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We may think that the production of a thesis and the supporting research is a fundamentally solitary activity, yet nothing could be further from the truth. Though our strengths come from within, our support comes from without.

Made weak by time and fate,  
but strong in will  
To strive, to seek, to find,  
And not to yield.  
[Just get it DONE!]

(Tennyson)

## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated primarily to my parents, Doris and Peter Tokar, who taught me that anything worthwhile doing is never easy, but it carries with it the greatest satisfaction.

Secondly, to the pioneers of the Canadian west, my Great-grandparents and Grandparents. Had it not been for their vision and perseverance, it is doubtful that we would be the land and peoples we are today. They came from diverse cultural backgrounds with a common dream for a better life and built what we now enjoy. This thesis is also dedicated to the women pioneers whose stories are often untold, but as mothers, daughters, sisters, and friends, they made homes and communities in the wilderness, carrying their dreams to the new land. They were the light in the wilderness.

We owe it to these pioneers to preserve their legacy, history, and material culture that future generations may understand.

Had I the heaven's embroidered cloths,  
Enwrought with golden and silver light,  
The blue and the dim and the dark cloths  
Of night and light and the half light,  
I would spread the cloths under your feet:  
But I, being poor, have only my dreams;  
I have spread my dreams under your feet;  
Tread softly because you tread on my dreams.  
(W.B. Yeats)

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## **Chapter 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

**“Get your facts first, then you can distort them as you please”**

**(Mark Twain)**

The Canadian northwest was settled by individuals from a vast array of backgrounds. Generally, many, if not all, of these groups included women in their numbers. The Methodist missionaries were no exception and in fact, the role of women in Methodism was quite specific. A woman's duty in a Methodist home was quite well defined as she was to be the guardian of morality and righteousness within the Christian home, regardless of its location.

Many aspects of the lives of settlers on the northwestern frontier of Canada have been well documented. Exceptions to this are the domestic sphere and the involvement of women in fostering the home environment. Personally, I have often wondered about the true picture of a frontier home. Several queries spring to mind: How did the women, often new brides, cope with the environment and the isolation? Did these women carry the developing Victorian mind-set of domestic elaboration of dining rituals across the vast distances? Did these women strive to maintain the domestic traditions with which they had been raised? Was domestic life in the northwest as rough and rugged as some fictional accounts would have us believe? Was there a place in their lives for the niceties and special items which many of us hold dear?

When conducting archaeological research we are generally restricted to the information obtained through analysis of the artifacts and, in the case of historical archaeology, historical documents. Though some may make claims within the realm of paleopsychology, archaeologists in general have long been stymied by our inability to



gain entrance into the black box of our subjects' minds. Therefore, conclusions drawn can go no further than the information supplied by the evidence. As such, it is not possible to satisfy all queries but perhaps, an inkling into the reality of life is possible.

The principal goal of this thesis has been to investigate specific aspects of the domestic lifeways at the mission, primarily the elaboration of the domestic sphere. To this end, the subject of this thesis is the analysis of portions of the cultural material resulting from the excavations of the Morleyville Methodist Mission, Morley, Alberta, occupied 1873 to 1921. The site was excavated over two field seasons in 1984 and 1985 by Dr. Margaret Kennedy, now of the University of Saskatchewan. With the permission of the Alberta Provincial Museum, the collection was temporarily relocated to the University of Saskatchewan to facilitate analysis.

The mission site is a particular rarity in the world of historical archaeology in this age of increasingly aggressive land development. As a historic site, the mission has sustained relatively little disturbance of the archaeological deposits since its abandonment. As such, the deposits represent a 50-year window of time during western Canada's formative years and early contact between the native people and Euro-Canadian settlers.

Historically both the Morleyville Mission and the McDougall family hold a prominent place in the settlement and development of Canada's western frontier. These women and men came into what might well have appeared a foreign land, an environment quite alien to their familiar eastern Canadian surroundings. Their previous lives in the east did little to prepare them for the reality of life in the Northwest.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the McDougall name crops up frequently in historical literature, especially in material pertaining to Alberta and the northwest region. In the mid-1800s patriarch George McDougall led his growing family from Ontario across what was to become Canada. His son John would become renowned in his own right, with a varied reputation, amongst both white men and native people in the west. John played an active role in preparing the native people for the arrival of the N.W.M.P., the settlement of Treaty 7 and the influx of Euro-Canadian settlers.

The second chapter of this thesis provides the reader with background on the Methodist Church and its principles in order that one may be familiar with the worldview of these individuals who felt drawn by duty to the frontier--wherever in the world that was. These were Victorian times when global expansion and industrialization were on the rise and Europe was still considered the centre of the world. The religious fervor of Methodists and other denominations was focused on improving the lot of the native people. Unfortunately this often appears in the historic record more as subjugation than assistance.

The following chapter (3) examines the settlement history of Morleyville, while Chapter 4 describes the physical setting of the mission site and the subsequent revival of interest in maintaining and restoring the existing church. The Historic Sites Committee of the United Church of Canada spearheaded a movement which allowed for the archaeological and historical investigations into the mission's development. The committee's ultimate, but unrealized, goal was to develop an interpretive programme for the site exploring the life of frontier missionaries and the native peoples with whom they interacted. In this particular instance this became a collaborative effort between archaeologists and historians.

The initial objectives, methodology and archaeological investigations of 1984-85 are also discussed in Chapter 4. Included within this chapter are descriptions of the features excavated during the two field seasons. This chapter examines the evolution of the Morleyville database through several generations, alterations and resurrections.

As corollary to the 1984-85 objectives, the fifth chapter discusses the strategies and objectives of the research upon which this thesis is based. The current objective, as already stated, focuses on the Victorian elaboration of the domestic sphere. Current literature (Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski 1991; Henry 1991; Wall 1987, 1991 etc.) states that it is quite possible to detect domestic elaboration through material culture. This supports comments that the artifacts and material culture are not merely objects but are imbued with symbolism and meaning by their users (Shackel and Little 1992:8). For as James Deetz (1982) reminds us, because artifacts echo the shared beliefs and

behaviours of the users/creators, they will also in turn be representative of the cultural behaviours incorporated within by society's worldview. Diana Wall sees the artifacts as constituting "...the very fabric of culture" (1991:69).

Adjunct to the discussion of the research objectives in Chapter 5 is background material on the role of women in Methodism and the Victorian era. As is far too commonly the case, the women who came to the frontier are mere silhouettes on the historical landscape. Examining the domestic sphere on the frontier necessitates investigating the role of women and seeking their voices. This has proven a challenge as women are often the anonymous members of any grouping or settlement, acknowledged but often only ancillary to the men.

The Victorian era saw the rise of the middle-class and a shift in the role of women and the home. Though still restricted in many activities, women were pressing the allowed limits and accomplishing great things whether at home or, specifically in this case, as the wife of an itinerant frontier minister.

With this background now in place, this thesis progresses into the sixth chapter for an examination and discussion of the artifact assemblage. A general discussion of the expectations of the archaeological record at the mission is included. Chapter 6 continues the examination of the artifact assemblage with an in-depth look at each feature and its artifact distribution.

The following chapter (7) covers the intrasite comparison of the Morleyville assemblages and inter-site comparisons with three other sites. To date, not a great deal of work has been done regarding mission sites, of any denomination, on the northern plains. For this reason, locating a comparative collection on which to base inter-site comparison has posed some difficulties. To this end, I have used the Willamette Methodist Mission (also known as the Jason Lee Mission) in Oregon; the Cochrane Ranche and Fort Victoria, both in Alberta. The latter is where the McDougall family were resident missionaries prior to their re-locating to Morleyville. The final chapter (8) of this thesis summarizes the conclusions of the research and subsequently evaluates the success of the project.

In general, the social and domestic life of the mission inhabitants has been subjected to very little investigation. I believe that some light can be shed on this aspect of frontier life, especially the domestic sphere, through examining the ceramic and glass assemblages.

During the Victorian era, the clergy were considered members of the middle class. Concomitant with this position would have been the subliminal rules which prescribed middle class membership. Membership in any group will of necessity influence one's behaviour. The physical manifestation of this influence is then parlayed into displays of material goods, often by way of consumption patterns and consumption itself being indicative of lifestyle (Robinson 1970:124 in Henry 1991:6). To refine this further, James Deetz (1982:718) reminds us that it is the household and family levels which "function[s] as the context wherein individuals are brought to an awareness of their culture's rules, and conversely, where those rules are frequently expressed in physical form". Therefore it is the "recovery of meaning" (Beaudry et al 1991:151) which I hope will shed light on the domestic sphere of the mission.

## **Chapter 2**

### **A HISTORY OF METHODISM AND THE McDOUGALLS**

**O praise the Lord, my soul, for He  
Made sin and death before me flee;  
And in His mercy gave me rest  
When He made me a Methodist**

Methodist song (Airhart 1992:12)

To gaze in the window of a Methodist mission home requires that the reader be equipped with information on the fundamental beliefs and principles of Methodism and its adherents. Methodism rose to prominence during the Victorian era which was witness to the rise of the middle class. It is not strictly coincidence that descriptions of the two overlap. Providing background material on Methodism, and the Victorian middle class, is done so that the reader may be better able to grasp the edicts which governed contemporary behaviours.

A discussion of Methodism on the northwestern frontier must of necessity include the McDougall family. George and John McDougall both played principal roles in the development of the northwest, specifically what was to become Alberta. The McDougall name still figures prominently in Alberta along with several other families into which the McDougall daughters married.

George and John McDougall were men who came into a new land with their own dreams and the power of their church behind them. Their influence on the development of the region and the native people cannot be denied. Though both men believed in their goals, current literature is not always so kind. The recollections of the Stoney elders casts the McDougalls' efforts in a less than flattering light.

## **2.1 The Methodist Church and Its Principles**

Methodism's roots lie deep within Canadian and British history. John Wesley (1703-1791) a young Church of England priest is credited with founding Methodism in England. Rev. Lawrence Caughlan, a contemporary of Wesley, brought Methodism to Canada in 1765 (Wilk 1985:8). Canadians owe a debt of gratitude to the Methodists for it was they who pioneered many regions in Canada, being the first missionaries in isolated areas such as southwestern Alberta. As John McDougall wrote in the 1870s "...between the North Saskatchewan River and the Missouri River, 500 miles across, there was one Roman Catholic priest (Fr. Scollen) and [himself]" (1970:15).

The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) had denied all requests by the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England for access to the Northwest Territories. In 1848, the HBC took a decisive step when it invited the Methodist Church to supply three Methodists as Chaplains to the Company and as missionaries to the Indians (Hutchinson 1985:12; Riddell 1946:7). Though there is no documented reason for the invitation, it can be speculated that this was a move to strengthen both the HBC presence and Canadian sovereignty in the less settled territories of the North West. This was a region awaiting settlement and the influence of an organized government, and the HBC and the missionaries were both actively toiling to establish footholds in the Northwest Territory (McDougall 1970:13). As Stephen Wilk (1985:8) tells us, nation building was a natural progression for the Methodists. Methodism was viewed by its adherents as "an indispensable element in the building of a nation" for their motives were both religious and patriotic.

In its formative years, Methodism's adherents were viewed as a non-conformist group distancing themselves as distinct from the established Anglican Church of England (Airhart 1992:30). The required attendance at Methodist class meetings provided devotees with a separate identity from other Protestant denominations. These class meetings filled a multi-purpose role of fellowship, testimony and supervision

(Riddell 1946:53).

By 1867, Canada's Confederation, Methodism had become the largest Protestant denomination in the Dominion (Airhart 1992:4). In 1904, Methodism boasted one million adherents in Canada, a full one-fifth of the population (Sutherland 1904:6). The fuel for the Church's growth in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and its early hallmark, was revivalism; the primary emphasis of revivalism was on the experience of personal conversion (Airhart 1992:4-5). Revivalism was the "Methodist approach to life" (Airhart 1992:5) which shaped the understanding of the religious experience and provided guidelines for personal and public behaviour, expression of religious ideas and associations for cultivating the religious life (Airhart 1992:4, 17).

Even today, we view 19<sup>th</sup> century Methodists as relatively rigid individuals, as Methodism had developed a reputation for a preoccupation with rules and prohibitions. Stephen Wilk (1985:10), historian and United Church minister, described Methodists as

short on theology, long on good words, brilliantly organized, primarily middle-class, frequently bigoted, incurably optimistic, zealously missionary and touchingly confident of the essential goodness of every human being .

As time progressed and in keeping pace with societal shifts, Methodism evolved to better meet the requirements of late Victorian Canada. Increasingly, Victorian Methodists identified with "social Christianity"-- saving the social order (Airhart 1992:9). The core belief of social Christianity was that society couldn't be saved without individual salvation first being addressed (Airhart 1992:25). The church was seen as the source of the power able to reform and regenerate the individual and to "remedy sins which neither social or political re-adjustment could" (Airhart 1992:25). Though the focus was on the individual the Methodists saw individual salvation as the route to saving the community as a whole.

By the 1840s Methodism had evolved into a socially respectable religious pursuit. Keeping pace with this new respectability was an increased evangelical inclination and subsequent decrease in revivalism (Airhart 1992:14). Both evangelism

and social reform were seen as inseparable elements in the process of community salvation. Additionally, these principles harkened back to the roots of Methodism (Airhart 1992:77, 140). In no small part were these ideological shifts influenced by the rising of the 1880s Methodist Middle Class. This social class disdained the “emotional excess” associated with the revivalist behaviours of the past but readily accepted dedication to social service (Airhart 1992:34, 140). Whether consciously or not, Methodism appears to have tailored itself to the Victorian attitudes of the time. Douglas Leighton’s (1976:104) description of the Victorian attitude being one of “narrow-minded self-confidence, coupled with a high and serious attitude towards life’s tasks...” appears to be a good fit with Methodist principles.

Early Methodists were encouraged to pursue perfection through a strict code which guided personal behaviour (Airhart 1992:22,24). Methodists were known for their opposition to localized pre-industrial traditions and all things which, to them, appeared contradictory to their pursuit of a morally disciplined and ordered life (Crosby 1914 in Maas 1994:94). Prohibited activities included playing cards, consumption of alcohol (unless medicinally prescribed), dancing, and attendance at circus and theatre performances. However, until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, moderate consumption of wine had been allowed. In 1869, the prohibitory code relating to alcohol reached its zenith when even the use of sacramental wine during church services was under question. This ban provided a boon for T.B. Welch, an American Methodist, who was producing unfermented “Welch’s Grape Juice” (Airhart 1992:24).

As the 20<sup>th</sup> century blossomed, capitalism was reshaping North American worldview and altering lifestyles. This was the advent of the white-collar middle class with assembly lines and scientific management, and greater availability for a broader consumer market of mass-produced, affordable goods. Women now had the opportunity to pursue acceptable employment in the service sector (Airhart 1992:64).

Through the decades, the Methodist church experienced several amalgamations and metamorphoses, both internal and external. Finally, in 1925, an interdenominational merger of the Methodist Presbyterian church and the Congregationalists resulted in the



formation of the United Church of Canada (Airhart 1992:139).

## **2.2 The Missionary Church: “Methodism is a missionary church, or she is nothing” (Sutherland 1904:271)**

Methodism is by its fundamental nature a missionary system, and this has been seen as its motivating factor (Luccock et al 1949:302). Formed in 1824 the goal of the Methodist Missionary Society was to “raise up dark-skinned peoples” throughout the world (Palmer et al 1985:65; Sutherland 1904:18) and show them a better, more spiritual way of living. In its infancy, the Missionary Society ministered primarily among the native people of Upper Canada (Sutherland 1904:18, 271). An 1858 movement to reach beyond Upper Canada saw the Missionary Society expand its services in Canada and abroad. In 1868, George Young was the first Methodist missionary sent into the North West Territories of Canada to work with the white settlers (Airhart 1992:15). By 1904 the Missionary Society’s active members, including the wives of the missionaries, numbered 1000 strong (Sutherland 1904:271).

Of primary interest to Canadian Methodists was the “evangelization” of the native people (Sutherland 1904:296). Early on, the goal of the Mission Society was to minister to the needs of what they saw as neglected and degraded peoples (Sutherland 1904:296). Even in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the salvation of children of any race was of great concern to the Methodists (Airhart 1992:5). This concern for native children would be addressed in the northwest through the establishment of mission schools.

The reality of life for a frontier missionary was far from the romantic ideal. As John McDougall indicated, it was one of vast responsibilities and duties, often unforeseen. However, it was the opportunity to bring improvement and salvation to the less fortunate which drove them ever onwards. As Dr. Alexander Sutherland, D.D. (1904:296) stated

...some of the noblest workers the Methodist Church ever produced cheerfully gave many of their best days to the Christlike task of seeking these lost sheep in the wilderness.

By the early 1870s missionaries struggled to survive and care for their families on a meager stipend (Sutherland 1904:273). As John McDougall wrote (1910b: 151), the term "Missionary" held vast responsibilities which might comprise being a preacher, judge, doctor, carpenter, sawyer, timberman, fisherman, hunter and traveler. An illustration of this last statement is an incident reported in M. Rennie (1984:4). John's wife had complained of a dental problem for the first year at Morleyville. He obtained a set of dental instruments from Fort Benton and, apparently, relieved his wife's discomfort and from then on he claimed to be the first amateur dentist in Alberta.

### **2.3 Methodism on the Frontier: "Christianity and cows, that's what they need in this far West"**

(John McDougall 1862 in MacEwan 1962:62)

It was in rural areas and on the frontier of both Canada and the U.S. where Methodism had its greatest success employing revivalism to affect conversions, long after revivalism had fallen from favour with the general membership (Airhart 1992:13). Even with the success of revivalist methods, the frontier missions provided challenges enough for the most devout missionary. Congregants were widely scattered on isolated homesteads, while others tended to move with work or seasonality. With the settlers' priority being roughing out a homestead and simply surviving, people had gotten out of the church-going habit, and indifference toward church activities prevailed (Hardesty 1981:149; Johnson 1955:11). Additionally, the absence of the physical reminders such as the church building with its bell did little to further the missionaries' efforts (Hardesty 1981:149). It was a matter of the essential material matters taking precedence over the spiritual side of life. This being the case, the popular view was that a man's primitive nature would surface as his inhibitions were cast aside from living in hostile wilderness surroundings (Johnson 1955:12). All the more reason then, believed the Methodists, to pursue conversion.

The camp-meeting, an idea borrowed from the Presbyterians in the United

States, was ideally suited to these difficulties and had proven successful in pioneering Eastern Canada (Riddell 1946:232; Sutherland 1904:85). With the waves of western immigration in the 1880s and '90s, scattered populations needed a reason to congregate, and the revivalist camp-meetings called to the social nature of the isolated settlers while also providing succor for their spiritual needs (Riddell 1946:232). The first camp-meeting in Alberta was held in 1896 with John McDougall assisting Rev. C.R. Sing (Riddell 1946:232-233). Camp-meetings never did become an institution on the prairies, and this may be due to the conditions which hampered many other socially oriented activities, those being climate, agricultural demands, vast distances, and mixed denominations (Riddell 1946:234).

By 1900, the Alberta Division covered 258,980 square km with Manitoba and much of the territories of the Assiniboia, Saskatchewan and Alberta then known as the Manitoba and North-West Conference for a total of 979,659 square km. This conference was supported by 15 Districts: 251 circuits and stations with 241 ordained ministers and 28 probationers for the ministry (Sutherland 1904:14).

**2.3.1. *Missions and Natives:* “Christ first to the heart, and then the  
after blessings of civilization and education”  
(Pannekoek 1970:48).**

By the 1870s the traditional life of the native peoples was in a state of grave decline. Speaking on this situation in 1879, David Laird, Lt. Governor and Indian Superintendent, said that Ottawa's choices were to “...help the Indian to farm, and raise stock, to feed them or to fight them” (Miller 1996:100).

This sentiment was conveniently congruent with the social and religious views of the times. The Victorian viewpoint was that anything outside their own cultural milieu was of no consideration. Therefore the best that civilized society could offer was to bring the outsiders (i.e. native peoples) into the European orbit (Leighton 1976:105). The numerous religious denominations active across the prairies in the 19<sup>th</sup> century all held native people as inferior beings incapable of continued existence without the

intervention, protection and directorship of missionaries (Pannekoek 1970: iv, 49). Salvation could only be accomplished through conversion of the native people from nomadic hunters into settled agriculturalists pursuing a sedentary life-style (Pannekoek 1970:3-4).

Prior to 1860, the Methodists still encouraged the native people to pursue the hunting and fishing lifestyle (Pannekoek 1970:73). After 1860, these traditional resources were incapable of sustaining the native population (Pannekoek 1970:74). George McDougall acknowledged that accepting the civilizing influences of the church was the only solution to the plight of the native people. In a letter dated 1862, he said "...churches must be erected and schools established, and the hunter taught to till the soil. This is [the native peoples'] only hope. His present resources will be soon exhausted" (McDougall 1862 in Pannekoek 1970:74). And further that "...nothing but their abandonment of paganism and conversion to Christianity can save them" (George McDougall in Dempsey 1967: 25).

However, in time even the Methodists had to acknowledge that the soils and climate of southwestern Alberta were not conducive to agriculture and this was especially true at Morleyville (Pannekoek 1970:73). As George McDougall stated, "We are not of the number who expect to make agriculturalist out of the Redman,... but he takes readily to stock" (Dempsey 1967:23).

As late as 1911, the Methodists solution to the "Indian Problem in Alberta" was to educate "a primitive race in the ideals of a higher form of culture" (Palmer et al 1985:71). To this end, residential schools were considered the unparalleled method to institute and accomplish assimilation of native peoples (Palmer et al 1985:71). The success of a mission was indicated to the Protestant faithful by an increase in the Christian population, which was, in turn, equated with the successful deliverance of wayward souls into the fold (Pannekoek 1970:3).

The Methodists were not alone in their efforts to Christianize the frontier. In 1840, Robert Rundle, the first Methodist missionary at Fort Edmonton, was followed closely in 1842 by the Roman Catholic priest Jean-Baptiste Thibault. Fort Edmonton

then became one of the first missions west of the Red River Settlement. In 1855, Henry Bird Steinhauer, a Methodist, established a mission at Whitefish Lake and by the early 1860s Rev. Thomas Woolsey had established a mission at Smoking Lake (Smoky Lake) (Alberta Culture:n.d.). In 1861 the Oblates took over the Roman Catholic responsibilities in the northwest and with the Sisters of Charity (Grey Nuns) established the settlement of St. Albert, near Ft. Edmonton (1874-1891). Father Constantine Scollen, a Catholic priest, was ordained in 1873 and that same year he established Our Lady of Peace Mission just west of Calgary (McDougall 1970:15).

The Anglicans pursued an alternate route establishing missions in present day Saskatchewan at Qu'Appelle (1842-1859), Stanley Mission (1850), and Nipowewin (near James Smith Reserve) in 1852. The Anglican Diocese of Saskatchewan and Athabaska was established in 1874, and their sparse missionary presence in Athabaska was focused in the Arctic (Grant 1984:143-145). In 1864 what may be taken as a sign of ecumenical co-operation, the Canada Presbyterian Church took the unprecedented step of consulting with the Methodists and the Anglicans on the location of the Presbyterian mission near Fort Carlton (Prince Albert mission). To further the appearance of interdenominational accord, a joint ecumenical gathering was held in 1869 in an effort to promote peace amongst the Cree and Blackfoot (Grant 1984:150). By the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, all of the Indian reserves in Alberta had on-site representation from at least one of the four major religious denominations then present on the plains.

In fact, the reality of an idealized ecumenical brotherhood was clouded over by interdenominational mud-slinging, indicative of the competitive nature of Christianizing (or proselytizing on) the frontier. The Anglican Rev. William Newton stated that "[the] Methodists regard [us] as poachers..." (McDougall 1970:12). The Protestants accused the Roman Catholics of being too accepting of native pagan rituals, and the Anglicans were charged with offering material goods to encourage the conversion of "tobacco Christians"(Grant 1984:112-113). As J. Ernest Nix states in his introduction to *Opening the Great West* (McDougall 1970:12), "[r]eligious rivalry and intolerance

were among the most unlovely features of the Victorian era". Such was the spirit of Christian brotherhood in the face of adversity on the northwest frontier.

#### **2.4 George and John McDougall: Father and Son United to Save the West**

Both George and his son John McDougall were instrumental in the development and settlement of Alberta and the Northwest of the infant nation, Canada. As Ian Getty (1983:9) reports the McDougalls and their mission at Morleyville have been attributed with a number of firsts.

...it was the first Christian church erected in southern Alberta; it boasted the first permanent homestead in the Bow Valley area complete with cattle, horses, and milking cows; and the first school teacher (Andrew Sibbald) taught here...the mission became the forerunner of the surveyed Morleyville settlement modeled on the river lot system ...

##### **2.4.1 *George McDougall* (1820-1876): "...the statesman, the missionary, the martyr" (in Riddell 1946:48)**

The Reverend George McDougall was born in 1820 in Kingston, Ontario, to a family of Scots while his father was stationed there with the British Navy (Jordan 1955:24). At two years of age, George moved with his parents to northern Ontario, where his preparation for the western frontier began (Riddell 1946:48). He worked alongside settlers clearing land for their settlements, he was a trapper, and owned and captained schooners on the Great Lakes (MacLean 1927:1-2). Even in these early years, George took every opportunity to preach to the settlers and Indians (MacLean 1927:2). These early experiences left their imprint on George, and at the age of 19 he made the decision to devote his life to God (Riddell 1946:48). He was determined to become ordained and become a missionary to the native people, whom he had come to admire during his years working in the Eastern Canadian frontier (MacLean 1927:2).

While still in Upper Canada, George married Elizabeth Chantler in 1842. She was of English Quaker parentage and would live out her life and be buried at

Morleyville in 1904, surviving George by 28 years (Jordon 1955:25; MacLean 1927:3, 233).

With no money and only a rudimentary education, George was determined to pursue his dream of ordination. He and Elizabeth saved up the funds to allow him to attend one year in 1849 at Victoria University. After that year at university and a one year apprenticeship he received a commission to establish a new mission in the Lake Huron territory (Riddell 1946:49). In 1860 George received an appointment as Superintendent of Missionary Work (1860-1917) in the Northwest, a position he would hold until his death in 1876 (Hutchinson 1985:12; Palmer et al 1985:124; Riddell 1946:49). The McDougall family followed patriarch George from Owen Sound, Ontario, to Rossville Mission at Norway House, Manitoba, and a mission field posting on the frontier of the Canadian Northwest (Jordan 1955:25; MacEwan 1962:62). The McDougall family, now numbering eight, would spend three years (1860 to 1862/3) at Norway House in northern Manitoba before George and son John headed further west in 1863 to set up the mission at Fort Victoria (now Pakan), 113 km downstream from Fort Edmonton (Jordan 1955:25; Palmer et al 1985:124). The McDougalls would remain at Fort Victoria from 1863 to 1871. In 1871, the McDougalls moved to Fort Edmonton where George built the first Methodist church—the first building built outside the fort (Alberta Culture: n.d.; Jordan 1955:28). The pleas of the Stoney Indians were answered in 1873 when the McDougalls established a mission in Stoney territory, and this was Morleyville.

Shortly after the establishment of Morleyville, George was to meet his untimely end. Food supplies at the mission in December of 1875 had reached a desperate level. February, 1876, saw several of the men, including George and John, set out in search of buffalo.

At some point of the journey George had offered to return to their camp and make ready for the arrival of the hunters. When the hunting party returned to their camp, there was no sign of George, a competent frontiersman and plains traveler. After a lengthy search, his body was located and it appeared that he had succumbed to a heart

condition (McDougall 1970:30; Riddell 1946:57).

In the eulogy delivered at his funeral, George was described as “[having] loved the Red Man, understood his ways, and gave his best to promote his moral, spiritual and material welfare” (Riddell 1946:58). George McDougall was buried at Morleyville with six Indian Chiefs as pall bearers (MacLean 1927:233).

#### **2.4.2 John McDougall (1842-1916): The Methodist “Indiana Jones”**

John McDougall (Figure 2.1) appears to have been a multi-faceted individual. John MacLean (1927:2) writes that many of George’s fine qualities could be seen reflected in his son John: personal courage, talent for leadership, and his religious zeal—all traits which would serve him well in his life on the frontier. John was involved in the establishment of several missions, including Woodville, Pigeon Lake, Victoria (Pakan), Fort Edmonton, Morleyville, Fort MacLeod, Calgary, Wolf Creek, Battle River and Bear’s Hill (McDougall 1970:7).

In his address to the 1882 Toronto Conference, Rev. Alexander Sutherland In his address to the 1882 Toronto Conference, Rev. Alexander Sutherland (Riddell 1946:116) states “Adventure, when sustained with prudence, is a good tonic and is consonant with the very genius of Christianity”. These were words which young John McDougall appeared to take to heart, if his writings and life experiences are to be any indication. Regarding John’s preparatory years, J.H. Riddell (1946:55) writes that young John’s “college courses [were] in the wilds of the West, his theology learned by living contacts with needy lives”.

Young John’s early years could not have prepared him better for the life he was to lead as an adult. At an early age, John’s playmates were the Ojibwa native children of his father’s mission in Ontario. From the age of six to ten years, he attended school with the native children and spoke their tongue better than his own English. In fact in “McDougall of Alberta”, John MacLean refers to John as a “white Indian” (1927:4-8). At age 14, John was sent to Victoria College at Coburg, Ontario, where his reputation followed him and he became known as the “Indian Fellow” (MacLean 1927:13). At 17,







John accompanied his father to Norway House and at 18 was a schoolmaster of Cree students (MacLean 1927:14, 16). And so began John's life on the western frontier.

John McDougall left behind several volumes documenting his life on the frontier. In today's world we could refer to John McDougall as the "Indiana Jones" of the Methodist missionary set. The adventurer and storyteller aspects of John's character are well chronicled in his own writings and those of others. He writes descriptively and eloquently of the prairie frontier and of his admiration of and for the people who inhabited it.

*Parsons on the Plains* has numerous examples which show us the poetic side of John's character:

The day was superb--bright sunshine, fleecy clouds, and an exhilarating atmosphere. Everywhere, above and around us, before and beneath us, a rich and lovely country--quietly sloping plains, nicely rounded knolls, big hills on whose terraced heights woodland and prairie seemed to have scrambled for space. Lakelets at different altitudes were glistening with the sun rays and sleeping that quiet afternoon as they shone (McDougall 1971:51).

In *Opening the Great West* he (McDougall 1970:23) writes of his travels saying "We were rolling through country beautiful in the extreme...". John's attitude toward the native people is obvious as he declared the native lifestyle to be "exceedingly romantic", tribal warfare "fascinating", while he harboured "contempt" for most Easterners (Carter 1984:29).

Many of John's accounts of his adventures are tinged with *braggadocio*. In this account from *Parsons on the Plains* John is recalling a mid-winter predicament which required additional gear from the Smoking Lake mission, "I set out on a run for home. It was only twenty-five miles. My intention was to be back in camp the same night, for I could conveniently make a fifty-mile run in those days" [he spent the night at the Mission at the "insistence" of Rev. Woolsey] (McDougall 1971:78).

*Opening the Great West* (McDougall 1970) was originally published for

distribution within the Methodist church community in eastern Canada to solicit funds. Unquestionably John was writing for an audience which he hoped to favourably impress, and this would have influenced his style and the content of the publication. As such, it would have served his purpose well to portray himself as a resourceful, self-reliant and masterful individual. However, even John was compelled to question his own abilities stating that he feared "...my failure to be what I had presumed to think I was" (McDougall 1971:20).

In contrast to John's opinion of self, he has been called "the biggest liar on the prairies" by an unidentified contemporary (Hildebrandt et al 1996:132). Robert H. Lowie, a turn-of-the-century ethnologist, is recorded as stating in the introduction to *Opening the Great West* (McDougall 1970:10), "I heard there were just three liars in Alberta: the trader [David McDougall] was reckoned as one and his revered brother [John] as the other two". Ernest Nix in the introduction to *Opening the Great West* (McDougall 1970:10-11) poses the question: "...[W]hy [had] this man who lived such a useful and notable life found it apparently so necessary to continually remind his readers of his own worth?" A full discussion of the motivations behind John's tendency to brag is beyond the scope of this thesis, though if John McDougall had not spread word of his exploits, who could he have relied upon to do so? However it must be kept in mind that John had grown up in the shadow of his renowned and revered father George and that would have been a difficult act to follow. Additionally, it must be considered that several of John's accounts were written more than 30 years after the fact, and it is quite likely that his recollections had been tempered by the passage of time. These somewhat contradictory views have been introduced as a means of balancing the perception of the character of the man.

Young John has been credited with the 1873 introduction of the first herd of breeding cattle into what would become known as southern Alberta's ranch lands (Breen 1983:9; Dempsey 1981:54; McDougall 1970:26; MacEwan 1962:62). John made the journey east to Fort Garry, a 1609 km return trip taking some 56 days from their home at Fort Victoria, 144 km northeast of Fort Edmonton (MacEwan 1962:62-

68). He returned with 11 cows and 1 bull. The McDougall brands "JM" and "O" are the amongst the oldest brands still in use in southern Alberta (MacEwan 1962).

There does appear to be some debate as to the actual date and destination of the cattle drive. Arthur Morton (1938:91) gives 1871 as the year and Fort Victoria as the end destination, while David Breen (1983:9) contends that it was in 1873 that the cattle were driven directly to Morleyville from Ft. Garry. Though this may seem like a minor detail, given that regardless of the details the cattle did arrive, it illustrates the inconsistencies inherent when conducting historical research.

The introduction of dairy and beef cattle to Southern Alberta was a boon to settlers and missionaries alike, for they were assured of milk, butter and meat, if need be (MacEwan 1962:68). This was the genre of change which the McDougalls would continue to institute on the frontier while pursuing what they believed to be their Christian duty of bringing salvation to the native people and other lost souls. Based on John's contributions and experience, the Methodist Church ordained him in 1872, waiving the standard examinations (Collett 1975:9). The current literature does throw John's motivations into question, and this will be discussed later in this chapter. While it is easy to be critical of an individual such as John McDougall, we must take into account the popular thought of the day and the religious doctrines with which he was raised. As my research has progressed, my attitudes toward John, and the Methodists in general, have varied. Though I remain skeptical of the purity of their motives, I admire the dedication to their beliefs and the tenacity with which they faced obstacles most of us are unable to comprehend in our world.

While John's life may have been exciting by his terms, it was not without trial and heartbreak. In 1865 John married Abigail Steinhauer. Her father, Henry Bird Steinhauer, a full-blooded Ontario Ojibwa, was the ordained minister at Whitefish Lake near Fort Victoria. Shortly after their marriage, John and Abigail moved to Pigeon Lake to establish a mission. It was here in 1871 that smallpox claimed Abigail's life. Elizabeth Ann Boyd of Cape Rich, Ontario, became John's second wife in 1872 and the first Ontario-born woman to live in southwest Alberta (Palmer et al 1985:124).

The vagaries of historical research have previously been cited. Further inconsistencies result when comparing an individual's self-assessment and those of his contemporaries. John reported himself as an adventurer with a sincere love for the native peoples and with their best interests at heart. As well, John's influence with the Stoney is often cited as the impetus behind the amicable reception given to white settlers from Ontario in the 1870s and 1880s when they arrived in the southwest of Alberta (Palmer et al 1985:124). Sarah Carter (1984:29) writes that John appreciated the "primitive" virtues in native culture, virtues which he believed to be weakened in his own culture. She goes on to state that he was reported to have said he felt more comfortable with the languages of the native peoples and found their lifestyle "exceedingly romantic".

Though John appeared to realize that he was witnessing the demise of the traditional native lifestyle he readily admitted that the changes were for the good of the native people. Conceding that he found European social ideals to be in a state of moral decay, John still maintained that these same ideals were worthy of loyalty and respect relative to the cultures of native peoples, which were barbaric, superstitious and controlled by nature (Carter 1984: 32, 36-38).

Yet John Snow (1977) and others give us a very different picture of John McDougall and his motivations. The tone of *These Mountains are Our Sacred Home* (Snow 1977) is somewhat accusatory in discussing the outcome of the Treaty 7 negotiations and the involvement of John McDougall. Snow indicates that the translation from English to Cree to Stoney during negotiations was cumbersome and confusing, with material being lost in the process. He states, "The alternative to this two-step process was translation by the missionary John McDougall, whom we now know had a vested interest in the outcome" (1977:28). Therefore, it is not surprising when Fritz Pannekoek (1970:73) reports that the McDougalls still hold the best land in the area around Morley. John Grant (1983:163) in *In the Moon of Wintertime* reports that at the end of each sermon John would invite the native congregants "...to pass into the trading post where David [John's brother] would take care of [their] needs". Even

that at the end of each sermon John would invite the native congregants “..to pass into the trading post where David [John’s brother] would take care of [their] needs”. Even George McDougall had received a reprimand from the Methodist church to curb his “excessive business involvement” (L. Taylor to George McDougall Feb. 20, 1869:290 in McDougall 1970:153).

In 1906 John was appointed Federal Indian Commissioner for the Northwest (MacLean 1927:241). John died in Calgary in 1916. He was survived by his wife Elizabeth Ann (Boyd), five sons: John, David, Morley, George, Douglas; and four daughters: Mrs. Wheatley, Mrs Magnus Begg, Mrs Matheson, and Lillian Elizabeth (MacLean 1927: 281). Note that here is a prime example of the invisibility of women on the frontier as all married women are identified by their husband’s name and only Lillian, who is presumed to be unmarried, is identified by her Christian name.

Regardless of one’s opinion of John McDougall, he was, by his own declaration, a democrat and though his missionary zeal was still very evident, it was tempered with pragmatism, “...we put our trust in God-- but we kept our powder dry” (1971:124).

## **2.5 Women: Methodism and the Victorian Era**

The lives of Elizabeth (Chantler) McDougall and Elizabeth (Boyd) McDougall, the wives of George and John McDougall, respectively, were governed by the dual doctrines of Methodism and the Victorian era. Though of differing generations, these two women, indeed the majority of frontier women, were subject to similar expectations and restrictions as dictated by the church, society and their environment.

Generally, the women who came to this frontier could in no way have been prepared for the lives they would lead. Many of them were young brides leaving family, friends, and all things familiar far behind them while having their eyes set on the distant horizon. These women often had little more than religious faith and dedication to marital duty on their side. The challenges, heartache, sorrows, and joys which they would face throughout their days are remarkable. The years ahead of them unfolded

with an uncertainty overshadowed only by the strength of their beliefs and dedication.

Though a large body of work chronicles the lives of both George and John McDougall, quite the opposite is true for their wives. Through my research I have pieced together vignettes of their lives and those of other frontier women. The role of Victorian women in Methodism, and the expectations and demands of life on the northwestern frontier are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

## **2.6 The Stoney People (Nakota)**

The Stoneys of the Alberta foothills, also known as Assiniboine, are of the Siouan linguistic group and speak the Nakota dialect (Snow 1977:1). The Assiniboine are believed to have split from the Sioux prior to the 1600s. They migrated to the region of the Saskatchewan and Assiniboine Rivers (Russell 1991:172-181) and by the mid-1750s some bands were reported as being well entrenched in central Alberta. Dale Russell (1991:186) reports that the Assiniboine were settled in the west prior to the arrival of the Cree and independent of the fur trade. In 1743 James Isham (1949:112 in Russell 1991:186) had written in his journal of the “Stone Indian language (alias) Esinnipeot” and David Mandelbaum (1979:88) reports that his informants referred to the Assiniboine, or *asini-pwat* in Cree, as “Stoney Sioux”. Though Mandelbaum (1979:8) states that the Stoney were allied with the Plains Cree, against the tribes of the Blackfoot Confederacy, the actual origin of the Stoneys is still quite contentious. At the time of the Morleyville Mission’s settlement the native people were recognized as the Mountain Stoney and today are separated into three bands: Wesley, Chiniki, and Bear Paw (Ian Getty, personal communication 1999).

Prior to the arrival and influence of the white man, the Stoneys were a nomadic people whose livelihood, culture and spiritual beliefs were based on the seasonal hunting round (Snow 1977:2-4). By the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Assiniboine and the Cree had adapted well to the horse and had developed a dependency on the migratory bison (Palmer et al 1985:56). The arrival of Europeans heralded the onslaught of several epidemics which decreased the populations of Assiniboine and other groups by as much



as 75% (Mandelbaum 1979; Palmer 1985).

When missionaries arrived with their Christian gospel, the Stoneys accepted the European beliefs readily. European Christianity and its concept of God as creator and sharing of resources was not unfamiliar for the Stoneys (Snow 1977:17). The Stoney people had a special reverence for nature, its diversity and the sharing of its resources which is integral to all parts of their culture (Snow 1977:2-4). As John Snow states (1977:17) "There was simply not that much difference between what we already believed and what the missionaries preached to us". What varied was the terminology of the Christian doctrine. Where the Stoneys had a God, *Waka Taga*, the Great Spirit, the Christian idea of the Holy Trinity was foreign but would be accepted in time. Religion and diversity were both easily acceptable in the Stoney culture, for they believed that each group was entitled to its own religious experience and that it was the Great Spirit who had created such diversity (Snow 1977:17).

Robert Rundle, a Methodist, was the first missionary to visit the Stoneys in 1840. George and John McDougall had first encountered Stoneys when working at the Mission in Edmonton. With the arrival of the whiskey traders in the 1860's the Stoneys felt increasingly threatened (Palmer and Palmer 1990:33-35). The Stoneys appealed to the McDougalls to set up a mission for them, believing that this would afford the Stoneys some protection. This request was answered in the autumn of 1873 when Morleyville was established on a site in the midst of what had been traditional Nakota wintering grounds (Snow 1977:18). Both George and John McDougall were quite vocal in calling for government aid to provide a law enforcement agency to quell the unrest generated by the whiskey trade. The federal Liberal government answered in 1873 with the creation of the N.W.M.P. (Palmer and Palmer 1990:35; Riddell 1946:56).

The literature contains comments regarding the missionaries being "advance men" (Snow 1977:20) for the government of the Dominion. There are accusations that George McDougall was sent by the government to "persuade" the native people to change their lifestyles and accept Treaty proposals (Snow 1977:21).

From the onset, John McDougall was an active participant in the negotiations

for Treaty 7. In 1874 he received a commission from the Canadian Government to travel through the Northwest with the intention of explaining the promise of Treaty 7 and the coming presence of the N.W.M.P. to all those concerned (Hildebrandt et al 1996:79,262). John's writings chronicle his travels and his belief that his tidings were received favourably (Hildebrandt et al 1996:263). In fact, John writes with compassion and affection for the native peoples of the Plains, and he believed that these feelings were reciprocated (McDougall 1970).

Treaty 7 in particular had a great impact on the lifestyle of the Stoney people. Both of the McDougalls, father and son, were accepted as honest and generous men by the Stoneys (Snow 1977:25). To their understanding, at the time, and as explained by John McDougall, the Stoney viewed the Treaty as fair and equitable. Their beliefs held that the land was meant to be shared, and they did not perceive ownership in the European fashion (Snow 1977:20). They believed that their life of hunting and fishing would continue unhindered with the topsoil loaned to the incoming white settlers (Dempsey 1967:21; Hildebrandt et al 1996:79). This sharing of resources appears innate in native beliefs and was perhaps played upon by the Treaty negotiators.

However, some of the literature would have the reader believe that the McDougalls had ulterior reasons for encouraging settlement of Treaty 7 (e.g. Snow 1977; Hildebrandt et al 1996). There are those who believe that the missionaries were perhaps co-opted by the government to take on a strategic role among the native peoples (Hildebrandt et al 1996:118-119). The focus and importance of the missionaries' mission became Government not God. It is implied that the missionaries, of various denominations, were used as conduits to carry messages to the native peoples from the government and to convince the natives of the integrity of the government's actions.

Grant states that the missionaries felt that the means justified the end, in that if they used whatever means necessary to persuade the native people to sign the treaties it was because the Europeans had a better understanding of the consequences of the treaties going unsigned. John McDougall saw himself as an advocate for the native peoples and believed that his actions were for the betterment of these people (Grant

1984:154).

The Stoney elders' perspective is quite contrary to that of John McDougall and his statement of intention (Hildebrandt et al 1996). John is reported as being unsympathetic towards traditional Stoney spirituality and culture. He is reported to have viewed Native spirituality as "inextricably linked to their moral, material,[and] mental backwardness" (Hildebrandt 1996:267). John had little regard for a cultural group which would live on the land and make no effort to control and harness the environment (Hildebrandt 1996:267). Matthew Hunter (cited in Hildebrandt 1996:15) states, "McDougall told us to close our eyes and pray, but when we opened them our land was gone".

The McDougall family still holds land in the region, and it is reputed to be amongst the finest land in the area, while in contrast the reserve land at Morley is fit for little other than grazing as it is too rocky for agriculture (Pannekoek 1970:73). Using Stoneys who had converted to Methodism to coerce the others to accept his beliefs was another of John's tactics to realize his own ambitions. He is remembered as intolerant toward the Stoneys, treating them as a lower-class (Hildebrandt 1996:157, 267). Yet he reveled in the pursuit of many traditional Native skills (e.g. trapping, hunting etc.) (Hildebrandt 1996:267). These seemingly contradictory attitudes held by John were not unusual for the times as European culture was still seen as the ideal and the lifestyle of the native peoples as one of adventure and romance.

Is it completely fair though to judge John McDougall and others of his ilk in our current context? Europeans arrived in a land devoid of all the trappings of civilization as they knew it. In the mid-1800s missionaries and Europeans alike saw the native peoples of the new land as hindering progress. By European standards, the native peoples had made no effort to harness or subdue the resources of this fresh land. In true ethnocentric fashion European culture viewed the religious beliefs of native peoples as superstitious, beliefs that are not our own. As it was doing in other parts of the world, European civilization would replace native "superstition" with their own religious doctrine and beliefs as being the right and progressive way to the future (Hildebrandt et

al 1996: 267). "This commitment to an ideal of progress compelled the missionaries to view the Indian as [socially primitive] and culturally and morally inferior" (Hildebrandt et al 1996:267).

## **Chapter 3**

### **THE MORLEYVILLE SETTLEMENT**

**“...the most romantic and grandest site for mission premises in all our world...”**  
(Rennie 1984:5)

The previous chapter has provided background on Methodism and the principal players in the settlement of Morleyville Mission. This chapter specifically deals with the evolution of the Morleyville Mission: from its establishment in 1873 to abandonment in the early 1920s. Included in this chapter are details of the movement towards stabilizing and preserving the site as a historic landmark.

#### **3.1 Regional History**

Though this region had been visited by HBC and NWC fur traders as early as 1787, prior to 1850 it had received little interest from Europeans (Foran and MacEwan Foran 1982:14). The years of 1850 to 1870 witnessed a new focus on the region for two primary reasons, not the least of which was Great Britain's concentration on expansion and the accompanying need to demonstrate sovereignty over what would become western Canada. Secondly there was the increased demand and subsequent interest from the U.S. for wolf skins and buffalo robes, the latter also being marketed in eastern Canada, Great Britain and Europe. In 1867 Canada achieved nationhood and by 1869 had purchased Rupert's Land from the HBC which subsequently became part of western Canada (Foran and MacEwan Foran 1982:17-20).

In the 1860s to early 1870s the whiskey traders moved northwards from the U.S. and established forts, such as Whoop-Up just 10 km from today's location of Lethbridge. The whiskey trade contributed to the general unrest and economic and

moral degradation of the native people (Foran and MacEwan Foran 1982:22-24). Requests from the likes of the McDougalls generated the federal government's response in the form of the N.W.M.P. as a military presence to establish and maintain peace in the region. The N.W.M.P. arrived in 1874 and in 1875 established Fort Calgary, at the present day city of Calgary (Foran and MacEwan Foran 1982:34).

In 1883, the CPR arrived transforming Calgary from merely a stop over for north-south bound oxen carts to a major distribution centre for goods from eastern Canada (Foran and MacEwan Foran 1982:46). Calgary blossomed as a city expanding the choices for consumers with several retail outlets such as HBC, T.C. Powers, and I.G. Baker. For those who were able to make the trip to the city, the shopping options must have appeared endless. The railway also heralded the development of the large ranch holdings in southwestern Alberta (Byfield 1991:16, 63).

The early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were years of cultural and social evolution in North America. However, in Canada the economic promises of politicians and railway promoters appeared to ring hollow. Many individuals who had lost their fortunes in the mid-1880s headed either south to the U.S. or west to try to rebuild their lives (Riddell 1946:116). The Federal Government had instituted several policies and incentives such as an open-door immigration policy, free prairie homesteads, security provided by the N.W.M.P., and the tariff protection of the National Policy to try to boost the economy (Airhart 1992:63; Friesen 1987:162). Still, Canada witnessed large-scale emigration south to the U. S. in spite of the Federal Government's best efforts to entice settlement and economic development. With the birth of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, corporate business had burgeoned in the U.S. while Canadian businesses were still small-scale, owner-operated.

The years 1896 to 1913 heralded an economic boom for the region, preceded by the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railway. This was the end of the agricultural depression of the early 1890s and this, coupled with the natural resources boom in 1900-1913, spurred long-awaited economic growth, waves of immigration to the prairies, and a northward flow of US capital (Airhart 1992:63; Palmer and Palmer 1990:77, 106;

Byfield 1991:239). What had been a trickle of settlers to the northwest increased dramatically from the 1890s to the 1930s. It was quite likely that the Methodists would have been alarmed at the growth of the economy and settlement without the accompanying spiritual development.

### **3.2 Settlement History**

The Rev. Thomas Woolsey had first told the McDougalls of the Stoneys and, as John recounted, Woolsey spoke of the latter's "...manly pluck and the many traits that distinguish [them] from the other Indians" (McDougall 1910a:66). The impression which Woolsey left appeared to be in part the impetus for George's eagerness to visit the Stoneys and "...see what good could be done for their present and future good" (McDougall 1910a:66).

In 1864, along with Rev. Henry Steinhauer and Peter Erasmus, George made his first of many visits into Stoney territory (Riddell 1946:50). George's meeting with the "sons of the mountains and foothills" (McDougall 1910a:190) is described by John:

..[a] hearty reception of the missionaries, [the Stoneys'] earnest and joyous listening to the teaching of the Gospel, their appearance and demeanor, had won [father's] ardent sympathy.

In the early 1870s, in answer to requests from the Stoneys, George McDougall approached the Methodist Conference and Missionary Board with a proposal to establish a mission among the Stoneys of southern Alberta (McDougall 1910a:190). The McDougall men, father and sons, decided to establish a mission west of what would become the city of Calgary. It was here that George and John believed they would be the most effective in ministering to the Stoneys (MacEwan 1962:70). By the fall of 1873, George and John had formulated plans to commence a mission among the Stoney and this would become Morleyville, named for the Rev. William Morley Punshon, a famous Methodist orator (MacLean 1927:82; MacEwan 1962:69-70; Palmer et al 1985:124).

The party of 35 set out from Fort Victoria in October 1873, arriving November 10, having covered a distance of 362 km (McDougall 1970:26; Rennie 1983:1). The proviso for inclusion in the journey was in keeping with Methodist doctrine of "no whiskey or firewater" (MacEwan 1962:70). However, the journey would not be without incident: 206 km into the journey, the cattle, which John had brought out from Ft Garry, ran off with migratory bison. The following spring David McDougall traveled to Fort Benton, Montana to drive back eight replacement cattle (MacEwan 1962:73).

By the autumn of 1873, Morleyville constituted the foundation of the first white settlement on the Bow River. Those in the settlement included George, John and David McDougall and families, the Sibbald family and Mrs Leslie Wood (John's youngest sister) (McDougall 1970:27). By 1875 the roster also included one stockman and a "lodge of French mixed breeds" (McDougall 1970:23). These lists are likely by no means exhaustive as historical accounts and records, as previously indicated, are for a variety of reasons often inaccurate or incomplete.

As a consequence of this journey to Morleyville, John and his brother David McDougall are credited with cutting the cart trail, known as the Old Morley Trail (also called the Calgary-Edmonton trail), from Fort Edmonton to the mission site (Dempsey 1981:79-80). The Morleyville settlement also became the mid-point for travelers on the Calgary-Cochrane-Banff trail. The importance of the Old Morley Trail goes beyond convenience and ease of travel to the venue of economics. For 75 years prior to the building of this trail, freight for Edmonton came one of two ways; by boat along the North Saskatchewan River or alternatively, from Fort Garry across the plains. Either route was time consuming and expensive. The reality of the trail facilitated freight arriving via steamboat on the Missouri River and Fort Benton, Montana, then loaded on to bull trains following the Whoop-Up trail to Fort Macleod and Calgary. Until the arrival of the CPR in 1883 this was the shipping route of choice. American goods were to be obtained using this route at a fraction of the cost of goods in Canada (Dempsey 1981:79-81). As well, Canadian goods, held in bond, were shipped from Eastern



Canada to the west via the Missouri River route.

The first Morleyville was more of a fortification than a mission situated up in the foothills near a small lake 5 km north of the subsequent settlement (Sutherland 1881:63). The McDougalls had chosen this initial location on a raised, wooded bluff for the extra protection it afforded them in light of the Blackfoot unrest and troubles with the whiskey traders. In the spring of 1875, with the arrival of the N.W.M.P., the situation had settled to the extent that the settlers felt confident enough to commence building down in the Bow River valley at the present day site of Morleyville (McDougall 1970:14).

Their first shelter of tents were soon followed by the Mission house and the frame for the church. In December of 1875 George reported that they had built a workshop and "fitted up" a room for each family (in the house) and the goal for the winter was to complete the church building out of split logs (Dempsey 1967: 26, 27; Snow 1977:19-20). The house is recorded as standing approximately 6.7x13.4 m and 3.4 to 3.7m at the eaves to accommodate George's and John's families and the Sibbald family (McDougall 1970:26; Sutherland 1881:62). (Figures 3.1 and 3.2).

The "Morley McDougall Mission Property" was declared an Historic Site by the United Church of Canada in 1977 (Thompson 1985:186-87). Subsequently in 1979, the Alberta Provincial Government passed an order designating the "McDougall Memorial United Church, Morley" as a Provincial Historic Resource. The mission church was built in the Gothic Revival style and measured 8.3x14.3m with an external bell tower which housed a locomotive bell donated by the CPR (Fitzgerald 1981:n.p.). This church still sits on a small rise on the western edge of the built area of the mission site and is the oldest building remaining on its original foundation in southern Alberta (Schroeder 1986:2).

David McDougall and his partner and brother-in-law, Kenneth McKenzie, Jr., built their trading post structures 457 m east of the 1875 mission site on the east side of Jacob Creek (Figure 3.3 and 3.4 ) (McDougall 1970:14). Building materials, other than the logs sawn on site, were brought from Fort Benton, Montana (McDougall 1970:26).



**Figure 3.1: Methodist Mission, Morleyville.**

1875 sketch by Dr. R.B. Nevitt, N.W.M.P. (Canadian Illustrated News 1881).

Note Church in background and first mission house on left.

(Used with permission of the Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Negative no. 51-2-848).

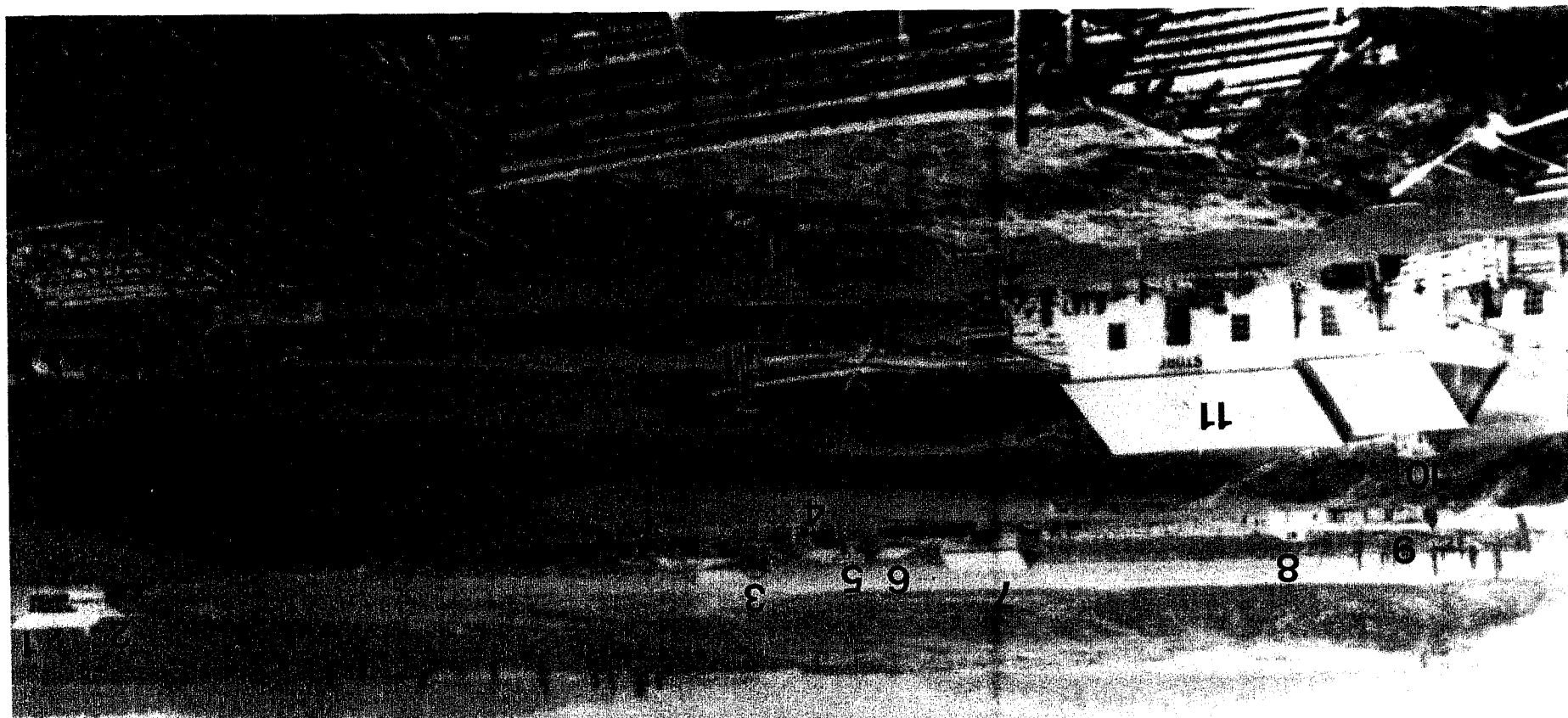


**Figure 3.2: Morley Indian Mission, Rev G. McDougall's House and Church.** The Mission House, with mansard roof, appears to be abandoned. Undated (post 1880), Artist unknown. (Jefferys 1950:99).







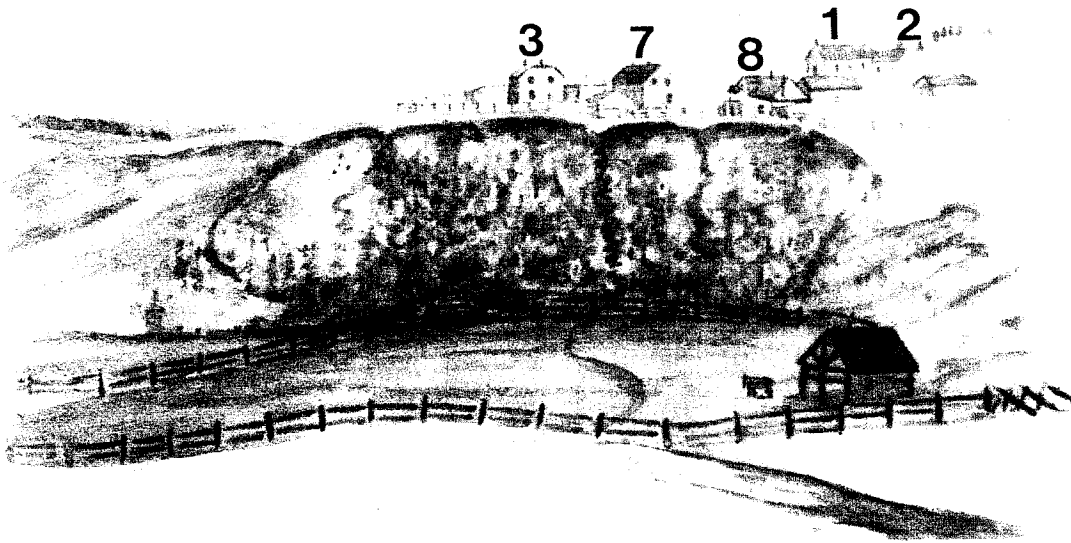


David McDougall's trading post was in direct competition with the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post built in 1874 on a hill above the mouth of the Ghost River (Mitchell and Prepas 1990:558). The HBC had built with the direct intent of trading with the native people whom the Company believed the mission would attract. The competition was short-lived and the HBC closed shop conceding retail victory to David McDougall.

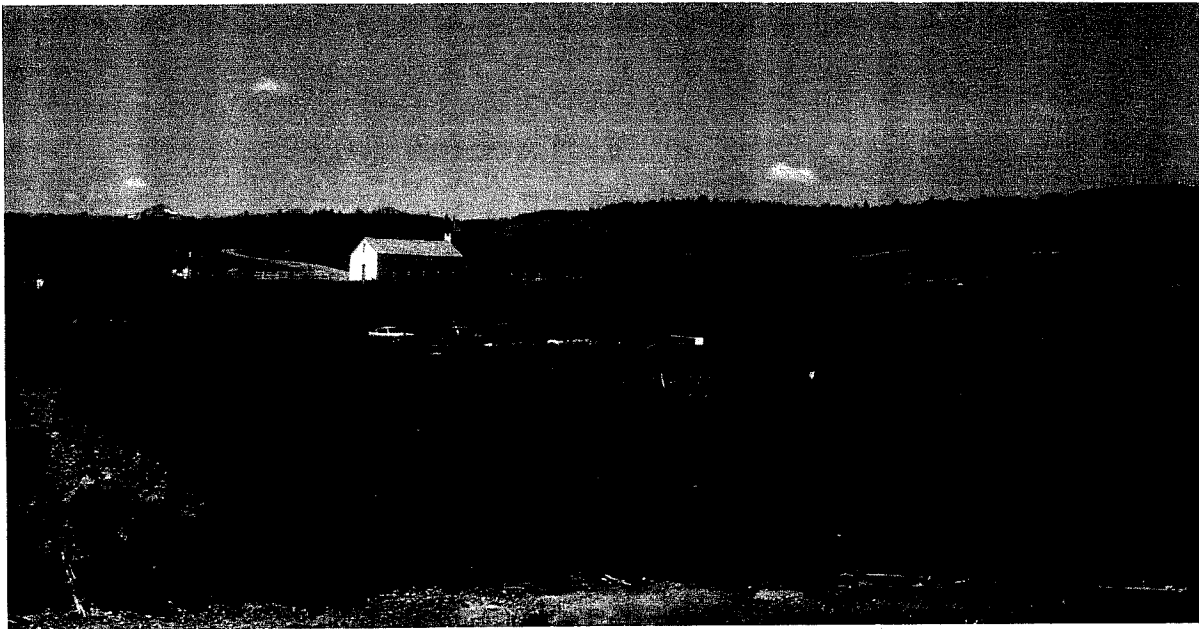
Andrew Sibbald taught at Morleyville from 1875 to 1896 (McDougall 190:21). He was to become known as the first teacher in southern Alberta and though having only one hand was quite fortuitously also a carpenter and arrived with a ready-to-assemble sawmill (McDougall 1970:20). This would be one of the earliest sawmills in southwestern Alberta.

Construction at the Bow Valley site continued on into the spring of 1876 (Figures 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6). All the while Morleyville remained the only Protestant mission in the southern region of Alberta (McDougall 1970:48). Structures erected included a church, parsonage, schoolhouse, teacher's house and a home for John's assistant Mr Inkster, who also assisted Mr Sibbald with the teaching and carpentry duties (McDougall 1970:21,48). Evangelical duties included baptisms and marriages and informal courts with John presiding over the concerns of local natives (McDougall 1970:48). It was also in this year that David's daughter was born, being the second white child born south of Edmonton; John's son (George Milward) had been the first (McDougall 1970:49).

The first school was built on the site in 1876. Some of the literature refers to this as a day school, while other sources refer to it as an orphanage/boarding school. John Snow (1977:19) presents the opinion that this duplicity may have been instituted to secure a higher level of monetary support. The Federal government and Methodist supporters in Eastern Canada were more inclined to financially support an orphanage as it was believed that a residential-type institution would have a greater positive influence on native children. By the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Morleyville was in decline. Several factors combined to herald the demise of the



**Figure 3.5:** “Indian Mission Buildings, Stony Reserve, Morley”. Sketch by Rev. E. F. Wilson, 1887. (Numbers correspond with Buell’s photograph).  
 — (Used with the permission of the Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Negative no. NA-4094-3).



**Figure 3.6:** Morleyville Mission site 1985. Photograph is an approximate replication of the view point of the Wilson’s sketch above. Vehicles are at the site of FDA.  
 (Photograph by M. Kennedy, used with permission)



Morleyville Mission: the new CPR line was located to the south of the Bow River; the Stoney Indian Agency was established in the village of Morley on the Stoney Reserve where a new church and school had been constructed (Getty 1983:9; Ian Getty, personal communication 1999). These factors effectively minimized and eventually eliminated the Mission's role on the forefront of religion, education, and as a social hub in the region. By 1921 the mission site was no longer permanently occupied (Ian Getty, personal communication).

The ownership of the mission lands has been a source of longstanding controversy between the Stoneys and the Church. In 1880, John McDougall had written to Indian Commissioner Dewdney requesting that the Stoney chiefs transfer the church lands to the Missionary Society (Getty 1973:2). In the land survey of 1881 the mission lands were excluded from within the reserve boundaries following a request from the Methodist Church for a patent to the church and school lands (Getty 1973:2). However, ownership appears to have been retained by the Dominion Lands Branch as the Methodist Church never did file a formal petition for ownership of the site, yet subsequently legal title was assumed to be held by the Church (Getty 1973:7-8). Today (1999) the controversy over ownership of the mission lands still flourishes. The United Church and the Nakota Nation (Stoney) are preparing to commence negotiations regarding the handover and eventual control of the property by the Nakota Nation (Ian Getty, personal communication 1999).

As a grouping the Mission property, the Church itself and several individuals (George and John McDougall, Andrew Sibbald etc.) represent historic hallmarks in the settlement and development of Alberta and western Canada. Much credit for the original impetus behind restoring and protecting the site must be given to the United Church of Canada (UCC), specifically the Calgary Presbytery and the Historic Sites Committee (HSC). Throughout my research, it has been obvious that without this organization and its affiliates holding fast to its vision of possibilities, the Morleyville Mission site and church might very likely have fallen into a state of serious neglect.

The Mission site itself plays host annually to visiting church picnics, school

groups on history field trips and travelers visiting the locale (annually 1500+) (McDougall 1991:12). The McDougall church is open for biannual services (spring and fall) with the 1999 services being the 124<sup>th</sup> annual. Upon arrangement, the church is also available for weddings and other special events. There appears to be an extended community consisting in part of various United Church congregations, local RCMP, and Stoney band members who care for and watch over the Mission site in its entirety.

The drive to develop the site and preserve it was initiated in 1950 when an unidentified Texan tourist donated funds toward the restoration of the long abandoned Mission church (McDougall Mission and Memorial Church. Historic Sites Committee Report 1991:32). In 1951, a group of concerned United Church congregants and locals donated their time to cleanup the site. These volunteers gathered and burned debris, filled in holes and depressions and constructed fences on the mission site. While the intentions are admirable, the actions have proven to be of concern to archaeologists. The activity of cleaning debris from the site and backfilling depressions has somewhat altered the historic landscape and the contextual information available.

From the above activity sprang the Historic Sites Committee (HSC) and the McDougall Memorial United Church Restoration and Maintenance Society which was to be the interim Operations Committee. The latter, along with the McDougall Stoney Mission Society, oversees maintenance, summer visitors and annual services (McDougall Mission and Memorial Church. Historic Sites Committee Report 1991:32; Thompson 1985:183). This society, with volunteer labour and the co-operation of the Stoneys, endeavored to follow their objectives to "preserve the site and maintain [the site and church] as a retreat" (McDougall Mission and Memorial Church. Historic Sites Committee Report 1991:32).

The HSC of the UCC established the Morley McDougall Mission Site Planning Team (March 1981-82) to continue the building restoration and to explore the development of the Mission site as a tourist attraction and interpretive site (Thompson 1985:187; Wilk 1985:11). The HSC proceeded to raise funds for archaeological and historical research, a feasibility study, and the preparation of a master plan with the goal

of developing an Interpretive Centre to provide the public with insights into the history of Methodism in South Alberta (McDougall 1991:13; McDougall Mission and Memorial Church. Historic Sites Committee Report 1991:32)

The Planning Committee's objectives were "to review and suggest methods of preservation, maintenance, and development of the historic value and uses of the Morley Historic Site in terms of theological, historical, and archaeological significance" (Kennedy n.d.[b]: n.p.) To execute these objectives, the Planning Committee worked in conjunction with the Department of Alberta Culture and the Stoney Nation (Progress Report: Morleyville Mission Site Interpretive Programme 1985:25). Within the Planning Team, Dr. Margaret Kennedy was appointed as project Archaeologist and Ian Getty as Historian. Working together, these constituents set about to identify features and their related functions at the site. The historical research was fruitful and progressed through 1984 resulting in a vast collection of archival, documentary, and photographic materials. In October-November of 1984 and summer of 1985, a four to five person crew commenced an excavation programme at the Mission site. The existing artifact and faunal collections are the result of the excavations in pursuit of the Planning Team's objectives. Further archaeological excavations were not conducted beyond 1985 and an initial Master Plan was completed (Progress Report: Morleyville Mission Site Interpretive Programme 1985:27). Today a rough trail system is in place on the site with some rudimentary signage. The artifact collection was held in storage by the Alberta Provincial Museum until 1997 when this current thesis research commenced.

## **Chapter 4**

### **THE SITE**

**“It is not what you find, it’s what you find out”.**

**(David Hurst Thomas)**

This chapter presents the details of the 1984-85 archeological investigations and discusses the characteristics of the site and the features excavated. The artifactual material recovered from these features is mentioned in passing and will be discussed in greater detail in a subsequent chapter.

The final section of this chapter covers the classifications scheme as originally set out by Dr. Kennedy. The database for this project has gone through several developmental phases. As technology advances it is possible, in hindsight, to suggest what may have been done differently had such options been available. Therefore, this material is presented that others may learn from our difficulties..

#### **4.1 Project Description**

##### **4.1.1 *Site Location and Legal Description***

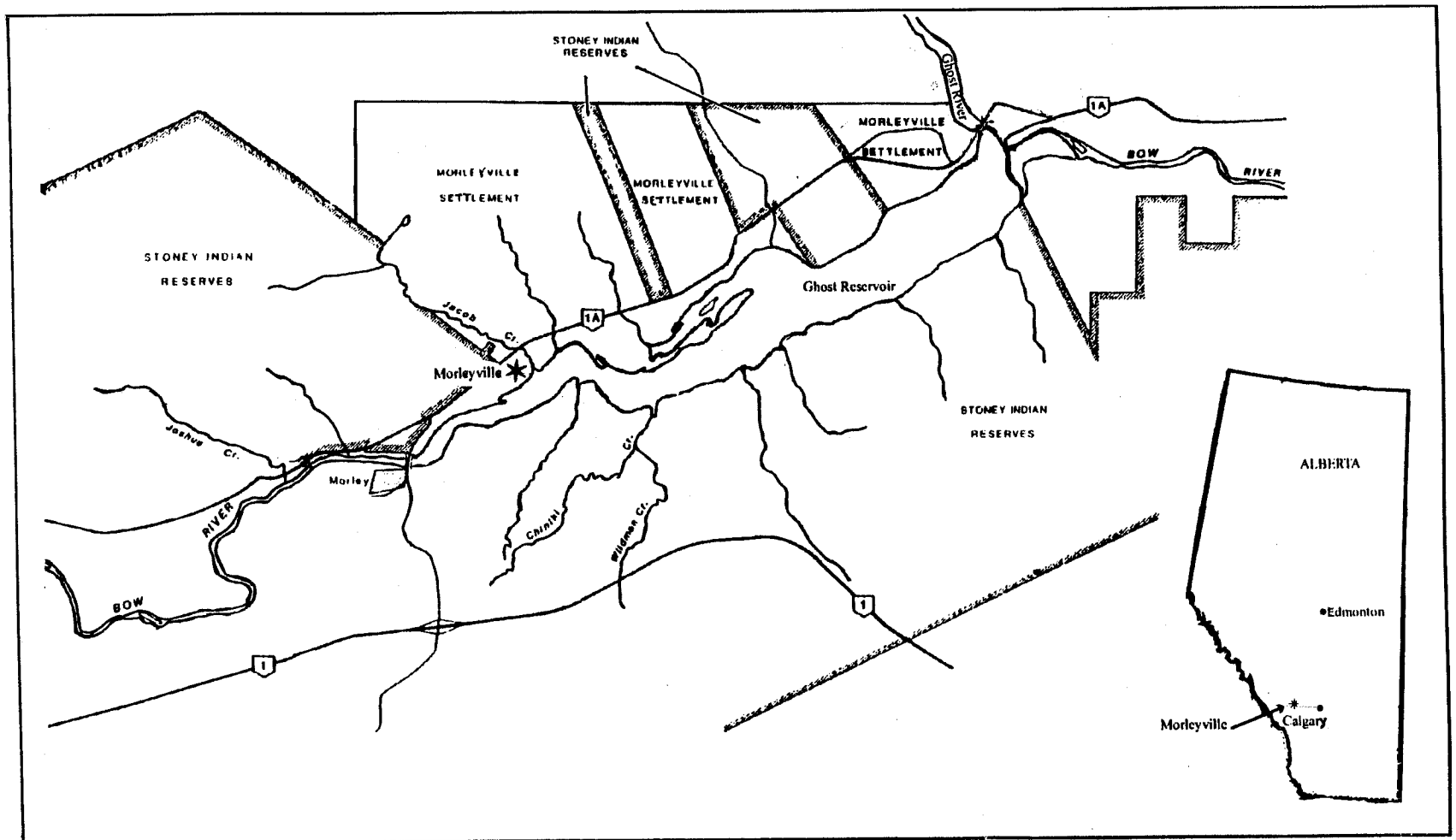
The McDougall Mission Site is located on approximately 16.5 ha of land, south of Highway 1A, east of the Village of Morley and 64 km west of the city of Calgary (Figure 4.1). The legal description of the land is: LSD 2,7, Section 6, Township 26, Range 6, West of the 5<sup>th</sup> Meridian.

##### **4.1.2 *Environmental Setting***

###### **4.1.2.1 *Topography***

Southwestern Alberta is the heart of ranching country and the site appears today





much as it must have 100 years ago. Morleyville sits nestled in the toes of the Rocky Mountain foothills above the Bow River Valley on a river terrace with less than a 15 m change in elevation overall (Schroeder 1986:12) while to the east the land drops 30 m to Jacob Creek. The Morleyville church sits on a slight rise of land on the western edge of the built part of the mission.

The southern boundary drops into the Ghost Reservoir which is the only major body of water in the region. The reservoir is the result of the construction of the Ghost Dam, named for the Ghost River, in 1925 to 1929 and subsequent flooding of the Bow River. Calgary Power Ltd., now TransAlta Utilities, leased reserve land from the Morley band in 1929 (Mitchell and Prepas 1990:558) and in May 1931, 42.7 ha of the mission property was sold to Calgary Power Ltd. (Thompson 1985:181). This was a section of land along the north bank of the Bow River which would serve as a flood plain. Approximately 20.5 ha of Mission land was subsequently flooded. These easement lands define the southern boundary of the site (Schroeder 1985:11).

The area of the site which was inundated by flood waters was recorded as having been utilized as the farm and ranch sections of the mission site. The farm served a dual purpose as the demonstration site for agricultural instruction aimed at the Stoneys and to supply produce for the mission's residents, the school and orphanage (Finch 1990:n.p.).

#### **4.1.2.2 Vegetation**

The Morleyville site sits in the Bow Valley basin which is classified as Montane Ecoregion with small intrusions of Aspen Parkland and Boreal Foothills Ecoregions. W.L. Strong and K. R. Leggett (1981: 14-19) characterize the Montane region as being distinguished by the presence of diagnostic species such as limber pine and/or Douglas fir which is the representative vegetation for such a region. Additionally, white (Engelman) spruce and lodgepole pine may also be present with minimal groundcover. P. Mitchell and E. Prepas (1990:559) and W. L. Strong and K. R. Leggett (1981:21) indicate that areas in the Montane region, such as the Mission site, which are on south-facing slopes with coarse textured soils may have open fescue grasslands.

It would appear that the Morleyville Mission site is an Aspen Parkland intrusion into the Montane Ecoregion. It is quite possible that the site in its entirety prior to settlement in the 1800s was more typical of the Montane and Boreal Foothills Ecoregions as evidenced by the vegetation outside of the Mission and Stoney Indian Reserve properties. The vegetation has undoubtedly undergone some modification, as the area has been used for cattle grazing and it is probable that some grass species have been introduced as a result of this activity. However, Strong (1977 in Strong and Leggett 1981:16) indicates that grassland vegetation would have dominated the Aspen Parkland Ecoregion even before European settlement which contrived to control and decrease the frequency of natural fires through the region. The lack of natural burns has contributed to changes in the ecosystem of the region and allowed the progression of aspen to the south and east.

The Mission property is within a "natural landscape" (Schroeder 1986:16) area and as such is considered to be environmentally significant. With the exception of the building sites and one small cultivated area east of the church, the sod has remained unbroken on the mission site (Schroeder 1986). This cultivated area is discernable in the 1885 photo Figure 3.2 .

#### **4.2 Archaeological Investigations 1984-85**

The initial archaeological investigations were conducted as a component of the McDougall Mission Historic Site Project Team's 1981 objective of interpreting the site. The primary goal of the archaeological investigations was the "assessment of the historical features of the site and their potential to contribute to site interpretation" (Kennedy 1985:9). This was to be accomplished by an archaeological inventory and excavation with the subsequent analysis to be incorporated into the Mission site interpretive programme. These activities would in turn provide an artifactual assemblage which could be employed as background and material evidence of early missionary and settler life in Southern Alberta.



Other, more involved investigative questions were centred on the material culture assemblage which resulted from the above mentioned excavations. These included:

- Employing the *in situ* cultural material to delineate the occupational time frame for individual structures.

- Fort Benton, Montana was the principal source for goods during the early years of the Mission. Would it be possible to discern from the artifact collection those items which started their journey in Fort Benton? Conversely, is it possible to identify goods which were supplied by Canadian sources as these became available?

- The McDougalls had been present in the region since 1873 which was a significant time of contact between the native and Euro-Canadian populations. Is it possible then to identify a native cultural assemblage which might indicate acculturation and adaption to the white man's ways?

- Is it possible to gain insights into the daily life of the Mission residents through the material culture? As an example, were the Methodists living a frugal lifestyle or did they enjoy a standard of living more in keeping with households of Eastern Canada? Was there any discernable status or hierarchy actively represented on the site?

- Once examined, will the artifact collection illustrate a specific pattern which could be related to other Methodist missions? [Eg. Willamette, Oregon; Fort Victoria, Alberta].

- Is the Methodist worldview and doctrine evident in the site's physical layout? For example, the proximity of the church and school is a cunning manner by which to reinforce Christian values and ethics on native children. As well, the church's location on the highest part of the Mission proper serves as a visual reminder of the position of religion in daily life.

In keeping with the objective of this thesis (see Chapter 5), examination of the domestic sphere, the above objectives are complementary to this thesis as both sets are focusing on the lifeways of the Mission. Though the objectives of the original project and this thesis are complementary, the original purpose of focusing on lifeways with the goal of interpreting the site varies from the current research objectives focused on the domestic sphere.

The excavations were supervised by Dr. Margaret Kennedy and were conducted over two field seasons; October-November of 1984 and July of 1985. Excavations in October, 1984, commenced under permit 84-88; however, due to the onset of inclement winter weather, the project was put on hold until the following year. In July of 1985 the project recommenced, under permit 85-31.

There are no structures standing on the site of the 1984 and 1985 excavations (Figure 4.2) (the McDougall Church is not included in the area which was excavated). Included in the excavation site area is a structural foundation composed of formed cement poured around sandstone blocks and cobbles which has been tentatively identified as the later "Mission House" (Foundation C). Also identified were three other foundations of unknown association. On-site observation led to the identification of three mound features and an unidentified small depression adjacent to the Mission House (Kennedy 1985). The school was also identified to the immediate east of the church.

In their original Site Data Form Kennedy and Getty (1983:n.p.) describe the site as follows:

The Mission House foundation (7.7x10.27m) is composed of formed cement poured around sandstone block and cobbles. Two (2) of the mounds (one, 6m in diameter, one 2m in diameter) and the small depression (3m in diameter, possible an outhouse) are likely associated with the house. The remaining foundation features are represented by depressions only, with no visible structural remains. Two (2) are located at the base of the hill below the church, and measure 7.50x7.8m, and 7.80x6.50m respectively. A third building depression is located on the east side of the site, and measures 6.5, in diameter. A trash dump is visible near this depression. A large cairn

(5.5x4.5m in diameter) of possible prehistoric affiliation is located towards the southeast edge of the field. Two (2) surficial features have been noted by eye; a large circular imprint (16m in diameter) may correspond to a corral mentioned in contemporary reports. Also, the Old Morley Trail bisects the site, and is quite visible.

In 1984 and 1985, archaeological research was composed of an archaeological inventory and excavation assessment programme. The purpose of this programme was to examine the site's physical features to assess the contribution to the overall site interpretation. As is befitting a site with strong historical roots, the archaeological component was blended with and supported by the historical component. The archaeological research within the proposed parameters of the Planning Team was conducted by assessment of recognized features and tests of other potential areas. In the early 1980s, prior to the commencement of excavations, only one foundation, the Mission House, had been conclusively identified. This was confirmed through several historical accounts such as those of Dr. Nevitt of the N.W.M.P. (Kennedy n.d.b).

The first field season resulted in magnetometer testing of the site and recording of magnetic anomalies as well as limited excavation and testing of nine known features/foundations. Several of these areas were delineated and identified from data acquired from historical sketches, photographs and account, and aerial photographs (Kennedy n.d.). Other features were identified during visual assessment of the site and the arrival of an early snowfall which highlighted the previously undetected features (Kennedy 1985). The features/foundations tested or excavated (Figure 4.2) included a large structural foundation (Foundation A) on the east edge of the terrace (possibly Sibbald's cottage), two outhouse depressions (Features A1 and A2) associated with the previously mentioned structure (these two features were completely excavated), a second depression (Foundation B) south of the Mission House (Foundation C), the Mission House and several mound or depression features, including Features 1 to 4 as indicated in Figure no.3 (Kennedy 1985:i).

By 1984 the proton magnetometer had become an increasingly important part of

the archaeologist's tool kit. The size of the Mission Site made it a prime candidate for a magnetometer study with the possibility of detecting previously unknown features. On a large site the ideal grid for magnetometer readings would be 1 m. As the 1984 investigations wore on, time was of the essence and the weather was showing all indication of being uncooperative. Therefore, the decision was made to use a 4 m grid, with the possibility of "filling in" areas which exhibited anomalies. Kennedy held the opinion that large features, such as structural foundations, or strongly magnetic features (e.g. dumps) would register with a magnetometer (Kennedy 1984:19-21).

The entire south half of the terrace area was subjected to magnetometer readings. The irregular mounds east of Feature 3 reacted as a very distinct anomaly, which suggested the presence of a cultural feature. Another unexpected anomaly occurred on the very eastern edge of the terrace near the confluence of Jacob Creek and the Ghost Reservoir. Both a mound and a depression occur here, but the spacing of the grid was too wide to permit pinpointing of the actual anomaly. The ground was too frozen by early November to allow further testing of the area. This anomaly was later to be identified as the Garbage Dump [GD1] (Kennedy 1984:19-21).

There were no anomalies in the open area east of House Depression B [Foundation B] towards Jacob Creek. This information helped narrow the field regarding possible locations of remaining structural features. This also held true for the area east of the circular feature tentatively labeled as the "corral" (Kennedy 1984:19-21).

The intention had been for the 1985 archaeological investigations to include further magnetometer testing in order to in-fill areas of the established grid and extend the grid north and east (Kennedy 1985). The 1985 field season expanded on the previous year's work in addition to the investigation of areas where magnetic anomalies had been identified the previous year (Kennedy 1985: n.p.). Feature 5 (FT5) and the Garbage Dump (GD1) were among those features excavated in 1985. The foundations and features excavated or tested in 1984 and 1985 are described in the following section.

If I had the opportunity to return to the site to conduct further research there are

several areas which I would like to see explored in greater detail. Specifically, I would like to pursue further exploration of the house depressions (eg. Foundations A and E) and other anomalies as registered by the magnetometer. To facilitate my thesis objectives I would like to recover a larger artifact sample. However, given that such activities require abundant time and financial resources I shall remain content with what is available.

### **4.3 Description of Features**

The descriptions of the individual excavations as reported in Kennedy's Interim Report (1985:13-18) are listed below (see Figure 4.2).

For reasons discussed later in this thesis (6.1), generally only those artifacts found in Foundations A and E, Features A1, A2, and 5 and the Garbage Dump were included in the analysis. Exceptions will be indicated and discussed as is appropriate. The reasons for inclusion or exclusion of specific foundations and features is discussed in Section 4.4.

#### **4.3.1 *Foundation A* [FDA]**

This foundation is located on the east side of the bench. Through the evaluation of contemporary sketches and photographs of the Mission site, such as that of Dr. R.B.Nevitt (Figure 3.5), Kennedy (1985:13) believed this to be Andrew Sibbald's cottage, though this identification cannot be substantiated on the basis of available information. During the initial investigation, a 1 m wide trench was placed across the feature, running from outside the foundation wall mound on the east side. During the 1984 investigations 6 m<sup>2</sup> of fill was excavated.

Upon intersecting the foundation wall mound, the following artifacts were found: bottle glass fragments, butchered bone fragments, ceramic sherds, miscellaneous hardware items, and a shell casing. When exposed, the wall mound marking the





foundation did not appear to consist of any solid masonry or wood construction but may have been an accumulation of wind-blown soil collecting around now decayed wood. Very light, powdery patches of rotted wood were observed within the mound, ca. 10-15 cm below surface, as were sandy-grey, calcareous deposits which likely are the remains of mortar chinking. In all, the wall was marked by only very faint traces, suggesting little attention was paid to foundation preparation.

As the excavations continued westwards into the cellar depression, increasing amounts of artifactual and faunal materials were encountered, as well as denser concentrations of cobbles and gravels. As the cellar floor leveled out, the deep, stratified profile gave some clues as to the sequence of abandonment for the structure. Immediately below the sod (approx. 5 cm thick) was a dense layer of cobbles at least 20 cm thick. Artifacts were observed throughout, over and under these cobbles. Directly below the cobbles and intrusive into the bottom layer of cobbles were discontinuous lenses of consistent grey clayey ash. This ash was particularly thick in the east end of the trench at the deepest part of the cellar. Artifacts again were thickly interspersed. Below the ash at ca. 30 cm below surface occurred a ca. 3-5 cm thick burnt lens, which was underlain once again by the ash. Associated with this ash lens was a canid skull and vertebrae. Below the lens mixed sands, gravels and cobbles were found interspersed with artifactual and faunal items. The foundation was taken to a maximum depth of 50 cm below surface before weather forced closure of the project. Completely sterile deposits were not reached.

The cellar and its contents suggest that, in all likelihood, garbage collected in the depression both during and after abandonment. A fire at some point caused the deposits of burnt wood and ash to form, which led to the later collapse of the chimney (upper cobbles are not burnt). After the collapse of the chimney, garbage continued to be deposited or collected naturally in and around the cellar.

The majority of the nails collected were square, suggesting this structure likely dates to the 1870s and founding of the Mission.



#### **4.3.2 Features A1 and A2 [FA1, FA2] -The Privies**

These two features were identified as privies or outhouses and are believed to be associated with Foundation A [Figure 2]. Both privy depressions were approximately 1x1.5 m in size.

In order to fully delineate the exact wall outline of each privy hole, each of the features was covered by a 2x2 m unit. The top 5-7 cm was removed from this 4 m<sup>2</sup> and screened, to collect artifacts deposited randomly across the surface. At this point the organic soil of the privy hole could be discerned, and excavation was subsequently confined to that.

Both privies produced quantities of artifactual and faunal material; Feature A1 more than A2. The collection of artifacts included a wide range of items: buttons, tin can fragments, glass, wire, square nails, kitchen items such as utensils, salt shaker, ironware pitchers, cups, etc, cartridge cases (one is a rim fire-from A2), and numerous other objects. A dime-sized coin was found in A1: Queen Victoria can be seen on one side but the other was entirely corroded and the date indiscernible.

Privy A1 extended to 1m below surface in depth. By the appearance of the organic deposits, it is possible that the privy structure was shifted to face the opposite direction from where it first started out. The preliminary interpretation of Privy A1 indicates that it may post-date A2.

Privy A2 extended to approximately 90 cm below surface, and was slightly smaller than A1.

#### **4.3.3 Foundation B [FDB]**

Foundation B is a deep depression feature some 20 m south of the Mission House [Foundation C]. It was overgrown with vegetation and had to be cleared before excavation could proceed.

The depression measured approximately 2.5 m in diameter and ca. 1 m deep. It was approached using a 1 m wide trench, 5 m in length placed east/west across the depression. The upper level surfaces outside the depression were excavated first, then

the walls carefully trimmed to search for the original foundation or surface. The removal of a considerable amount of slumpage and garbage on the east side exposed a very poorly preserved mortar wall at the base of the depression. (As the entire depression was not fully excavated, it is unclear whether the foundation floor was entirely lined with mortar.)

The pit was filled with refuse material - tin cans, machinery parts, glass, unidentified metal. The initial hypothesis was that this structure had been abandoned before the Mission House and was used as a disposal spot. However, Kennedy eventually concluded that this was one of the depressions backfilled during the 1951 restoration and clean-up program [see Ch. 2]. The material culture collected is useful for illustrating the nature of goods utilized by the Mission's inhabitant, though wanting in context. Some artifacts can be approximately dated (e.g., square nails, tin cans), which adds to their interpretive value.

Kennedy (1985b) recommended, for the 1985 season, that the foundation should not be further exposed as its identity and use were in question.

#### **4.3.4 Foundation C [FDC]- The Mission House**

A 1x2 m unit was excavated on the east side of the Mission house foundation walls as a test for artifact deposition in the house area. It was hoped the test unit would also reveal stages of renovation and abandonment.

The Mission House (approx. 4.7x13.8 m) consisted of a wood frame superstructure originally sitting on a cobble. At some point after 1903, a rough cement mixture was poured on the exterior of the cobbles, presumably, to shore up a weakening foundation. Both the concrete and cobbles are all that remain of the Mission House today.

The 1x2 m test unit produced a number of artifacts, including both square and round nails. Both of these nail types likely reflects the construction materials of the 1870s and later years during renovations or re-use of earlier building materials. Also

recovered were window glass fragments, ceramic fragments, a horseshoe, 44 caliber cartridge case, wood fragments and coal.

Artifact deposition extended to at least 12 cm below surface. This suggests constant disposal and dispersal of debris around the Mission House during its occupation (Kennedy 1985).

#### **4.3.5 *Foundation E* [FDE]**

This possible structural foundation was first recognized visually by surface irregularities - both noticeable depression and less obvious mound features - but did not conform to the shape and size of the unquestionable cellar features as at Foundation A. The magnetometer study of fall 1984 identified very distinct anomalies here so it was subjected to testing the following summer.

Over 37 m<sup>2</sup> were excavated across Foundation E. Included in the area tested was one of the round depression features and the slight mounding to its immediate east, both features on the west end of E. Stratigraphically, deposits were an inconsistent blend of black silts, sand, fine to large sized gravels and rock-solid limestone concretion. The latter may have been cut through by the Morleyville residents while digging a cellar which later slumped or was backfilled, although this was not clearly apparent. There did seem to be some separation of black soil outside a roughly circular area rimmed by concretion, and gravels without consistent black soil within. In one of the units, roughly central to the possible circular feature just described, a fair amount of wooden planking and wood fragments was observed at c. 45 cm below surface. Large, flat sandstone slabs, which could have served as a building foundation, were also noticed randomly distributed in some of the units.

All units and practically all levels within them contained artifactual and faunal material. Buildings depicted in historic sketches of Morleyville can be matched up loosely with the positioning of Foundation E and it *may* match up with the location of the first mission house (see Kennedy 1989.)

#### **4.3.6 *Foundation F* [FDF]**

This possible architectural feature was identified during a metal detection survey of the northern part of the flat some 150 m north of the mission house. A roughly square trench-like arrangement was observed, so a series of 1x.5 m units were aligned across it from north to south. Test 1 on the north outside the trench was sterile. A concentration of cobbles was noted in the north end of Test 2 which straddled the trench. Then numerous artifacts including window pane glass were observed south of the cobbles and in succeeding southerly units, so this may indicate the interior of a building. No further excavation beyond the five test units was conducted here.

#### **4.3.7 *Foundation G* [FDG]**

This possible building foundation was located between grid coordinates 85 to 92 North and 82 to 90 East. A large quantity of recent wood and poles lay over top of the feature making access difficult. Large rocks situated roughly in a square-like fashion suggested the potential for this feature to be a foundation. Early photographs and sketches show the existence of two small gable-roofed buildings to the north of the mission house on the west side of the flat; Foundation G may represent one of them (Kennedy 1989). Only limited testing was undertaken here: a test trench comprising 1 m<sup>2</sup> in total was excavated on the north-east end of the rock outline. A small number of artifacts was obtained.

#### **4.3.8 *The Garbage Dump* [GD1]**

The question of garbage disposal at the Mission Site has only been partially answered. Kennedy (1989:7) holds the opinion that, based on the artifact scatter along the steep slopes of Jacob Creek and the Ghost Reservoir, garbage disposal consisted of little more than arm's length effort—seeing how far one could throw refuse over the terrace edge. This being the case, the majority of the refuse from the active period for

the Mission Site has long been eroded and swept away by the waters of the Ghost Reservoir.

A possible exception to this is Garbage Dump 1 (GD1), a small dump site just south of FDA, on the upper rim of the Jacob Creek embankment. This dump site was marked by a large linear depression observed on the east edge of the flat overlooking Jacob's Creek's confluence with the Ghost Reservoir. The modern fence line (i.e. as of 1985) lay to the immediate west of it. Excavation yielded deposits of artifacts and faunal material to the feature's base at 90 cm below surface.

Kennedy's preliminary assessment based on the types of artifacts recovered has the dump as being active relatively early in the Mission's occupation.

#### **4.3.9 Miscellaneous Features 1-5**

Testing was initiated at five features in the Mission Site during the 1984 season, but not satisfactorily completed at four of them [FTs 1,2,3,4] due to worsening weather conditions. Feature 5 [FT5] was excavated during the 1985 season. Descriptions of all five features are covered below (Kennedy 1985).

**Feature 1** is a large mound southeast of the Mission House and adjacent to a suspicious linear mound feature. A 1x1 m test unit was placed on it to test for possible dump material. While artifacts (nails, staples, glass, ceramics) and coal were encountered in the top 10 cm, the relative thinness of the cultural deposit negated the likelihood that the mound was a dump. Kennedy's conclusion was that the mound was backdirt from Depression 'B' [FDB].

**Feature 2** is a shallow depression situated in the slope leading up to the Church terrace. This depression may have been associated with the first structures put up by the Methodists at the Mission Site. A 1x2 m unit was begun on the east edge of the depression, but could not be completed due to weather.

**Feature 3** is a shallow circular depression just west of the irregular mounds which reacted so distinctly on the magnetometer. It was felt that Feature 3 was likely an

outhouse; however, no organic soil was encountered after the sod was stripped. It is possible that this depression may be one of several outbuildings depicted on contemporary sketches but which had no surface visibility or had not been detected by remote sensing. Bad weather caused the incomplete excavation of this feature.

**Feature 4** is a depression located in the same general area as Feature 3. A 1x3 m trench was excavated across the west edge (west/east alignment). Although very few artifacts were collected during this excavation, a lens of fine gravel and sand was noted in the bottom of the depression at ca. 12-15 cm below surface. This may represent mortar. Bad weather forced the abandonment of this excavation (Kennedy 1985).

**Feature 5** is a depression located in proximity to Foundation G and a large unknown feature. This privy site was identified as a strong anomaly during the magnetometer testing program in the fall of 1984. Upon scrutiny the following summer, (the magnetometer study was conducted when snow was already on the ground) the feature was characterized by a slight depression in the ground's surface, approximately 3x2 m in area. Upon removal of sod, a thick paving of cobbles was encountered, then dark soil and wood fragments. Following were rich organic deposits containing heavy concentrations of artifacts and fauna to a depth of 125 cm below surface. The feature likely represents a double-seated privy.

#### **4.4 The Artifact Assemblage**

The artifact assemblage discussed in this thesis resulted from the 1984 and 1985 field seasons. The artifact and faunal collections were subsequently cleaned, catalogued and then moved to and stored at the Alberta Provincial Museum warehouse in Edmonton. In July of 1997, Dr. Margaret Kennedy requested and received permission from the Alberta Provincial Museum to transport the collection to the University of Saskatchewan for the subsequent analysis that forms the basis of this thesis.

Upon receipt of the collection, I undertook a preliminary sorting of the approximately 25,000 artifacts based on their analytical and re-fit potential. From the

six features which are discussed in this thesis an overall total of 20,435 artifacts were recovered and of this number 1156 were ceramics. Because of the large number of artifacts recovered from the site and the resultant massive size of the database, the decision was made to focus my analysis on three categories of artifacts: Ceramics, Other Glass, and Bottles and Jars. In making this decision, I believed that these three categories spoke to the objective of examining domestic elaboration within the lives of the Mission inhabitants.

Within these three categories, it is often possible to identify the use and purpose of an item, the producer, manufacturer, and in the case of bottles and jars, the contents. With ceramics, it is possible to delineate the waretype and vessel style, and these data may in turn be used as indicators of domestic elaboration and possibly status. Additionally, ceramic waretypes and individual ceramic patterns can be analyzed for their intra-site representation.

Much the same may be said about the items in the category of "Other Glass". While this category predominantly includes flat window glass and glass from lighting devices (i.e. lamp chimney sherds) it also contains artifacts which are of greater importance to this thesis. Such items as crystal and pressed glass tablewares would hold similar connotations as ceramics for supporting the case of domestic elaboration.

Unless otherwise indicated the artifacts analyzed for this thesis are from the following features; FDA, FDE, FA1, FA2, FT5 and GD1. Occasionally, pertinent artifacts from other categories (e.g. metal containers), and features will be included in the discussion and will be identified as such.

The decision to focus specifically on artifacts from selected features was based in part on the reliability of context and greatest variety of identifiable and applicable materials. The artifacts are generally representative of items which date from the 1870s and 1880s onward.

The decision to omit the other features arose from discussions with Dr. Margaret Kennedy, the project archaeologist and my thesis supervisor. The reasons for omission are as follows: FDB appears to have been backfilled with materials cleared

from the surrounding area during the 1951 site clean-up, and as such the excavated materials hold little value with regard to reliable context; FDC was excluded because the artifacts recovered were few in number and of little diagnostic value; the five test units of Foundation F yielded inconclusive materials; and FT 1 to 4 were omitted as the materials yielded were also inconclusive or inconsequential in nature. Additionally, it was concluded that FT1 was backdirt from FDB and as such the artifacts were without context. These four features (Ft 1-4) were not excavated in their entirety due to inclement weather in the 1984 season.

When I had completed the initial assessment of the artifacts, the next task at hand was to make some semblance of order from the ceramic and glass sherds in the collection. As previously discussed, the artifacts, with very few exceptions were in an extremely fragmentary state. Of the 25,000+ artifacts, approximately a dozen items, within the ceramic and glass categories, were recovered more or less intact. Therefore, the summer of 1997 was spent re-fitting sherds in order to reconstruct them to their original forms of tea cups, saucers, bowls, bottles, jars, serving vessels etc. Many items, as evidenced by photographs in this thesis, remain in an incomplete state as time and resources preclude further re-fitting. However, with much patience I reconstructed several artifacts, such as those depicted in Figures 6.10 and 6.17 (saucer and ewer) which are comprised of upwards of 20 and 80 pieces, respectively.

The time spent re-fitting the ceramic items and bottles was invaluable as the resultant artifacts allow for a more accurate picture of activities and life at the Mission. The reconstruction of fragmented artifacts provides a clearer picture of the material culture which can then be extrapolated to examine the living conditions and domestic situation at the Mission site. Additionally, this facilitates the thesis objectives of examining the elaboration of the domestic sphere to gain insights into this aspect of frontier mission life. Had this activity not been undertaken, the analytical potential of the artifact collection as a whole would have been greatly reduced.

It is important to bear in mind when examining an assemblage that by sheer force of numbers sherd counts will be exaggerated relative to actual vessel counts (LeeDecker



1994:35). In support of my efforts of reconstruction, Charles LeeDecker (1994:359-369) states what should be obvious--that the vessels, not the resultant sherds, are the more accurate representation of the units of acquisition and use. LeeDecker (1994:359) goes on to state that "...the degree of vessel completeness provides an objective means to evaluate deposits".

LeeDecker (1994) provides a word of caution reminding us that contemporaneous deposition dates cannot be founded simply on cross-mends between varying contexts. The reasons for varied locations of cross-mended pieces are myriad and due in some way to human activities, either directly or indirectly. For example, while the sherds of a broken ceramic vessel may have been deposited in a refuse pile, one or two sherds may also have fallen through the house's floor boards and were deposited in the cellar. This is a point to remember as such a situation does exist at the mission (e.g. the same ceramic pattern found in FDs A and E). Unfortunately, the documentary record does not supply corroborating evidence of contemporaneous occupation of these dwellings, nor of the identity of the occupants.

However, LeeDecker (Garrow 1984; Louis Berger and Associates 1985 in LeeDecker 1994) also points out that the primary deposition is indicated by the completeness of vessels whereas greater fragmentation can be equated with the effects of redeposition, frost action, trampling and other actions. Given the state of the mission deposits, I believe that many different factors may have been active to result in such fragmented remains and no firm conclusions can be drawn regarding the issue of redeposition. The exception to this may be items which may have been disturbed and re-deposited during the 1950s site clean-up.

#### **4.5 Data Base History**

With the artifact collection from the two field seasons numbering over 25,000, Margaret Kennedy, the project supervisor, decided in 1985 that the only manageable way to deal with such a large collection was with a computerized data base. Stan Van

Dyke, then of Lifeways of Canada Ltd., devised such a data base for the mainframe computer system (Multics) of the University of Calgary. Kennedy developed the coding categories for the artifacts, using a classification system loosely based on Stan South's functional scheme. Artifacts were first divided into *Activity Group*, each of which was further divided into *Subactivity Groups*. Each of the latter were then broken out into specific artifact types, such as metal and glass containers, under the Domestic Subactivity Group category. Specific attributes could then be recorded for each artifact type.

In hindsight, Dr. Kennedy recognizes that there was redundancy in some of the *Activity* and *Subactivity* groups, and a mixing of functional vs. artifact-specific categories within one or two of the *Subactivity Groups*, but considering that the entire scheme was designed before data bases became commercially available and easy to use, the Morleyville custom-designed data base was admirable and, at the time, functioned well.

During 1986 and 1987, a team of two assistants entered the data which had been hand-coded by the cataloguers following the 1985 field season. The data were stored on the U of C mainframe. Kennedy then left Calgary to take up a teaching position with the University of Lethbridge, and the data were stored on magnetic tape and sent to her. In 1993 when Kennedy attempted to read the tape at the University of Lethbridge, it seemed that not all the expected data were on it. She sent it back to Computing Services at the University of Calgary, which in the meantime had completely replaced its mainframe system. After many attempts to read the tape, it was discovered that only the raw input files had ever been saved on it, not the original SPSS processed output files, so that in essence, the analysis would have to be repeated, and a new SPSS program written for it. As well, no complete artifact catalogue could be printed off, leaving only the handwritten one.

When I expressed interest in taking on the Morleyville site for a Master's thesis topic, Dr. Kennedy arranged for a new data base to be developed using the original classification scheme. David Ebert, now a doctoral candidate at the University of

Manitoba, generously took this on. He selected ACCESS 2.0 for the data base and then wrote a program which could incorporate the specific needs of the classification devised in 1985. David also provided assistance whenever bugs surfaced in the new system.

In summary, the data base has had a history of difficulties and radical changes, and dealing with it provided one of the major challenges in this current thesis research. However, with David Ebert's help and that of Clarence Krause, of the University of Saskatchewan, successful manipulation of the data was obtained.

Upon completion of the re-entry of data for FDA, FDE, FA1, FA2, FT5, and GD1, I initiated random checks on the data. The computer application employed procedural safe guards and checks to alert the operator to possible duplications of catalogue numbers while entering data. Once I became familiar with the idiosyncracies of the system, I was able to locate and correct entry errors with some degree of ease.

Should this programme be employed in future research, I would caution the user to be vigilant in assuring accuracy of entered catalogue numbers. This is especially true when artifacts are being entered as lots, rather than individually. As the system is only capable of repeating information as provided by the operator, potential problems with the search and query functions can be quite trying. For example, if a lot representing catalogue numbers 1000 to 1010 is erroneously entered as 1000 to 0, the system will automatically create a lot of 1000 items with those identifiers. When a query is entered for any lot identified by a catalogue number falling between 1000 and 0, it will consistently be identified as existing only under those identifiers, and not as a separate lot, or artifact, with the requested identifiers. This may leave the operator suspecting that the queried items were inadvertently left un-entered.

Additionally, care must be taken when entering the subactivity of an artifact. Though subactivity groups may contain similar number designations (e.g. 01, 02, etc.), these numbers connote different classifications, depending upon the initial Activity group selected. For example, in the Activity group "02-Architectural", the Subactivity listed as "01" is "fasteners", whereas for Activity group "03-Domestic/Household", "01" is "tableware". This error shows up quite glaringly during specific queries for features and

related artifacts, such as ceramics. Though tedious and time consuming, if such an error is not corrected, there is a great deal of potential for the skewing of results and an increased level of frustration.

## **Chapter 5**

### **THE DOMESTIC SPHERE**

#### **“For God, Home and Native land”**

**Slogan of the Woman’s  
Christian Temperance Union  
(WCTU) (Hardesty 1981: 97)**

For the Victorian Methodist woman her home, the domestic sphere, was her domain. Several of the objectives of the original project were focused on gaining insights into the lifestyle of the mission’s inhabitants and whether the material culture was reflective of Methodist worldview and doctrine. These objectives are quite complementary with the current research objective to explore the visibility of the overall domestic sphere at the mission site.

In addition to being devout Methodists the mission women had been raised in the Victorian middle class milieu and both designations came with sets of specific, expected behaviours for women. This chapter provides insights into the roles of women, and limitations placed on them within Methodism, and the expectations and demands made of a woman living on the northwestern frontier.

The current research attempts to delve into the domestic sphere by examining the material culture for patterns and indicators which may reflect specific domestic behaviours. One example of such a pattern is a hallmark of the Victorian era, that being elaboration of table settings, moving towards matched tablewares. The presence or absence of domestic items at the mission site may be interpreted several ways, depending upon the overall contextual information.

#### **5.1 The Feminine Perspective**

A Methodist woman was encouraged by the church to pursue an active Christian life. With the Methodist focus on perfectionism and the presumed moral superiority of women, this pursuit was believed to be the natural inclination of all women (Keller 1981:23). Presbyterian Henry J. Van Dyke Sr. went further stating that "motherhood is [woman's] divinely appointed destiny" and that "subordination of woman is written upon the constitution of her nature" (Hardesty 1981: 97). Such attitudes firmly set the Methodist woman in her place within the church structure.

Early revivalism and its many related volunteer agencies provided an acceptable outlet for women beyond the home (Airhart 1992:26). Such activities provided a woman with the ability to influence life beyond the domestic sphere, to reach out and actively engage in "cultural motherhood" (Airhart 1992:26; Keller 1981:24). It was the very act of motherhood which Frances Willard (WCTU president 1879-1899) believed to be the element in a woman's character which granted women a "peculiar power in religion" (Hardesty 1981:97). Indeed Willard stated her personal goal was "...to make the whole world homelike" (Hardesty 1981:97), which was accepted as a suitable and estimable goal for a Methodist woman.

It was here in the domestic sphere, the private domain of women, that Methodism placed much emphasis on the role of women. Thomas Crosby (1914: 73-74, in Maas 1994:94) stated "[t]here is no better teaching than the object lesson of a good and well ordered Christian Home". He further directed "... [a woman] should be willing to show how to build a nice little home...".

Clearly, it was the duty of the Methodist wife and mother to set the standard for a Christian life. The spirit of the home, it was said, was where children received the greatest influence in their spiritual growth (Airhart 1992:18). As an extension of maintaining a Christian home, women were encouraged to participate in church sanctioned, acceptable public activities. In this way, women possessed the capability of taking their mothering roles out amongst all levels of society. In essence, like Frances Willard, their efforts aided in making the world a more homey place and bringing qualitative changes to women's lives and Methodism itself (Keller 1981:18, 19). These

same goals appear to be the case not only in the private domestic sphere but in the much wider world of the frontier where a woman was expected to teach by example, with the Christian home being the woman's contribution toward setting the example for the wider world.

A woman was encouraged to "commit to nurturing the Christian life" (Airhart 1992:21) through self-examination of her daily actions and pursuit of useful social involvement. This was taken to the extent that a woman's religious lessons were focused on "evangelical womanhood" and as such influenced her selection of friends and activities (Airhart 1992; 21). As a form of social action such efforts fit nicely with the Methodist goals of cultural motherhood and social Christianity (Airhart 1992:9, 26; Keller 1981:24).

For the first century of Canadian Methodism women were excluded from the ordained ministry (Airhart 1992:76). Even in 1880 ordination was still denied them, and women who had previously been granted licences to preach had these revoked by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Frances Willard who espoused the "cult of domesticity" in support of women in the ministry declared,

...[a] woman who is a mother and a wife is, above all others, consecrated and set apart by nature to be a minister in the household of faith. Viewed without prejudice, this position is invulnerable (Hardesty 1981:98).

Willard's stand remained popular amongst women, but not with men who still held the balance of power within the church.

While Methodist men had always been eligible for ordination and an active public Christian life, a woman's greatest influence remained the private domestic sphere. This coincides with the elaboration of all things domestic in the Victorian era (Coontz 1988 in Maas 1994:88). When women joined their husbands in the mission field, the women were encouraged to continue the practice of Victorian refinements such as the proper taking of tea and dining with the appropriate dinner service (Maas 1994:90). These

social niceties and domestic rituals were all efforts to present the example of and create the ideal of a good Christian home.

Women did have some sanctioned options within the church structure, though as the 19<sup>th</sup> century matured, ordination and access to positions of power within the church were still denied women. Frustration with this stand was impetus for the development of the Women's Missionary Society (WMS), thereby establishing a distinct sphere within which women worked and held control (Keller 1981:21). The Women's Missionary Society was formed in 1880 and their constitution adopted in 1881 (Sutherland 1904:19, 275). This society had a autonomous board to oversee its affairs while working "in harmony and loyal co-operation" (Sutherland 1904:19-20) with the board of the General Missionary Society. The WMS employed in excess of 40 agents--evangelists, teachers, physicians, nurses and the like--all women (Sutherland 1904:20).

Another such option was Christian service with an urban mission, for a small salary (Airhart 1992:76). To alleviate the growing shortage of male members available for urban mission work and to pacify the growing numbers of women seeking Christian service, the Deaconess Order was established in 1894 (Airhart 1992:76). Several hundred (+900) women were trained as teachers, nurses and social workers to work in Canada's major cities (Airhart 1992:76). The Deaconess Order is viewed as the birthplace of the social gospel which was to become one of Methodism's defining principles (Keller 1981:20).

For women who still craved an active ministry, a workable alternative was to marry a frontier itinerant minister (Jeffery 1981:144; Keller 1981:19). In fact, many single women accepted proposals and agreed to short courtships in order to tap into an expanded field of religious opportunity and experience through marriage (Jeffery 1981:144). This in no way implies that all Methodist ministers and their wives endured loveless marriages. Rather, evangelical fervor had become one of the elementary traits a single woman would seek in a marriage partner (Jeffery 1981:145). The opportunity to share life and, just as significantly, a ministry with their life partner may have appeared to be an answer to their prayers. This may not have been the case initially in some



situations, such as the case of Elizabeth (Chantler) McDougall who had married George before he became a Methodist missionary. However, Elizabeth did encourage George's pursuit of ordination and, the literature would lead us to believe, followed wherever his ministry led them. Here, at least in the literature, is an example of the loyal and supportive helpmate. It is unfortunate that, by and large, the historical and documentary record has left these women without stories of their own to tell.

The requirements of an itinerant Methodist minister's wife were set out in the 1851 publication of H. Eaton's "The Itinerant Wife: Her Qualification, Duties and Rewards" (Jeffery 1981:146). The "model clergy wife" was required to be a "religious model" within the community (Jeffery 1981:146). The frontier minister's wife was, in short, expected to teach through example by displaying skills she possessed by virtue of being female. The pursuit of such an ideal, while admirable, would have been difficult while perched upon the Methodist pedestal of womanhood. The Methodist doctrine does appear to hold women in high regard; however, such standards would have been attainable only in a perfect world and doubtfully in reality. Though, this is not to deny that the frontier women, of any calling, certainly gave their utmost for whatever cause they believed in.

The part of the itinerant minister's wife was a role balanced on that knife edge between civilization and the frontier. Women were reminded to modify the "cult of true womanhood" for this new life on the frontier into which they and their husbands were venturing (Keller 1981:19). While undertaking the task of presenting a Christian home a woman had to bear in mind that superseding all other responsibilities was the role of wife and mother. These intrepid women placed faith and effort in the knowledge that satisfaction would be found in a job well done-- the assurance that she had served her husband well (Keller 1981:19). As I will show later, this was indeed a job description which included the cover line of "and all other duties as assigned".

The responsibility was placed squarely upon the shoulders of early Methodist women to carry the example of Christian wife, mother, and home into the frontier. The Young family of Rossville Mission literally set an example by carefully demonstrating to

the native people the proper way of setting the European dinner table (Grant 1984:110).

The western frontier offered new "fields of usefulness" for the Methodist mission wife (Keller 1981:20). Now not only were the wives the "conduit of civilization" (Mathews 1981:39) on the frontier, these women were the unacknowledged equals of their husbands. They traveled circuits; facilitated conversions; established schools and Sunday schools; cared for the sick and dying and prepared the dead for burials their husbands would perform (Keller 1981:20). Historical and devotional documents describe the itinerant wives as possessing energy, courage and perseverance. These women are described as "...vigorous...with the courage of... their convictions" and as diligent helpmates "... with driving will-force that overcame formidable obstacles" (Jeffery 1981:148). Rev. Sutherland describes Mrs. Sibbald driving a wagon through a river with deep, fast water and steep embankments saying that "...[her] pluck and self reliance were worthy of all admiration" (1881:49). As their husbands were frequently ministering away in the field and on circuits, the running of missions and associated functions were often left to the women. These frontier Methodist women earned their unofficial ordination the hard way.

Occasionally, as John McDougall wrote, his wife Elizabeth would accompany him on journeys into the country (MacLean 1927:204-220). In the summer of 1898, the McDougalls, including two small children, traveled by canoe and foot along "mighty rivers, rough portages, nasty muskegs and dangerous rapids." This was a journey of 22 days from Norway House to Nelson House, a total of 1,297 km, 67 portages and 23 religious services. The following year they headed back but with only three year old Douglas. Ever grateful for small mercies John writes that "fortunately" Mrs McDougall had brought an umbrella, presumably to ward off the heat (MacLean 1927:210). This she relinquished and instead used a paddle to balance her way across 5 km of muskeg. John was not without compassion as he states "It was hard work for us [men] but terrible for my poor wife". Little Douglas slept through this trial bound to John's back by a shawl (MacLean 1927:218). From all of this came the proclamation that Mrs McDougall had the "privilege and good fortune" (MacLean 1927:220) of being the first

white woman to travel in many regions!

J.H. Riddell (1946:349) lauds the missionary wife saying, "[a] devoted Christian woman is an asset of inestimable value to any community especially to that which is struggling to turn the wilderness into a garden and the rough prairie sod into a golden wheat field". He also supports previous statements that it was the role of the woman to "soften the face of the wilderness" and to "keep the atmosphere of the community spiritually clean and morally wholesome" (Riddell 1946:349). Riddell does remind us that as often as not these women were young brides, newly departed from homes of "refinement and comfort" and just as frequently recently finished of an educational institution.

John McDougall's second wife Elizabeth Ann Boyd was only 18 years old, 12 years his junior, when they met and wed in 1872 during John's fund raising tour of Ontario (Finch 1990:10). Their late fall/early winter honeymoon was spent traveling west back to the prairies where Elizabeth Ann would raise John and Abigail's (his first wife) three daughters and bear him six more children. Their first winter as husband and wife was recorded as the coldest on record and they had only rabbit and dried fish to eat. Having endured many unforeseen hardships through her life, Elizabeth Ann described her latter years at Morleyville as "quite leisurely" (Finch 1990:10).

Thank heaven these women had youth and faith on their sides. There was nothing in their previous lives to have prepared them for married life on the frontier. These women took encouragement from the opportunity and challenges which lay around them and their belief in the Methodist mission (Ratel 1946:350). The young wife kept in her mind that she was her husband's helpmate and her duty was to bring to the community "[the] sweetness and tenderness of life" (Ratel 1946:350). It was these women who picked up whatever duties appeared to be outside the realm of the minister (e.g. Sunday School) to create a true sense of community on the frontier.

The exhaustion, stress, poor health, loneliness and homesickness the women endured can only be speculated (Jeffery 1981:158). In a letter to the Honorable James Ferrier, John wrote

The isolation for Mrs McD was a stern reality--she being the only woman in a country 550 miles wide, but that is not all. The unsettled state of the Indians was a great source of dread, however we felt we were in the paths of duty and that was enough. Many were the lonely days and nights of the mission family at Morley during our first years (McDougall, M732, Folder No.2:3).

The strengths of the pioneer women did not go completely unacknowledged. John McDougall wrote of his mother "...[she] is possessed of patience and sublime resignation to the lot of the wife of a pioneer missionary" (1910a:182). John recounts his mother's early years at Fort Victoria saying that no one was more looking forward to their new home being completed than was his mother,

For seven months she had been obliged to put up with the crowded conditions of our comparatively small one-roomed log building. Thirteen of us called it home, ate there...and nearly all slept there. All the cooking, washing, and other household work was done in that little space (McDougall 1971:121-122).

Amongst the McDougall family alone, the burdens of life in the northwest were heavy. In 1870 John lost his first wife Abigail to small pox and George and Elizabeth's children Flora (11), Georgina (18), and Anna (14) also succumbed in that same year (Ratel 1946:53). As such the realities of frontier life weighed heavily on all concerned. John McDougall is recorded as saying that he never knew if he would return from a trip to find his family still alive (MacLean 1927 :112).

Though Ratel (1946) writes glowingly of the devotion and sacrifices of these wives, he leaves us with only a description of the ubiquitous mission wife, referring to these women as "she". My research has shown that, with few exceptions, the missionary wives remained invisible in the historical and documentary records. They were often referred to as Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_, or simply, as someone's wife. This invisibility was bestowed upon them for they were perceived in the male-dominated world as unimportant and not possessing power, an accessory to men (Doherty 1981: 201;

Mathews 1981:33). There was nothing unusual or exceptional in their dual roles as helpmate to their husband and in as the "social arm of Protestantism" (Doherty 1981:201), regardless of what this involved. Their duties were natural, accepted, and expected of a Christian wife and mother. Donald Mathews (1981:39) labels the frontier minister's wife as the "conduit of civilization", willing and ready to adapt to any given situation. Any recognition received by a mission wife was bestowed upon her as an ancillary to her husband, as the ever-ready and vigilant helpmate (Mathews 1981:32).

Many years after her arrival in Alberta as a young bride Elizabeth (Boyd) McDougall stated "...in our home we [women] were helping literally to keep the pot boiling, when we had something to boil. For no traveler, Indian or white was ever turned away hungry from the door...". She concluded "I have seen many changes since I came west 55 years ago. And who helped make these great changes? Why the women have. What would the men do without their help to enable them to endure the hardships of a new country" (McDougall, M732, Folder 7:1-2).

## **5.2 Research Strategy and Background**

As has been alluded to in previous sections of this thesis, the principal objective of my research has been to examine evidence of the domestic sphere at the Mission site. Several of the 1984-85 objectives are complementary to this current exploration as they also focused on examination of the lifeways of the Mission and its inhabitants.

The documentary record tells us that the active life of the Mission was from 1873 to 1921. The first half of the Mission's occupation occurred during the Victorian era (mid-to late 19<sup>th</sup> century) which witnessed the rise of the white collar middle-class. This middle-class included professional men, clergy, artists, college professors, shop keepers and upper mechanics (presumably business owners) (Blumin 1989:247 in Wall 1999:103). The Victorian middle-class, as a group, had a distinct world view and ideologies designed to distinguish them from the working-class and elites (Fitts 1999:39). This new world view was cultivated to project the concept of gentility and

true womanhood (Fitts 1999:39; Wall 1999:103) which went beyond mere etiquette, setting the parameters governing behaviours and their ascribed moral connotations.

Beyond the material items, other factors influenced membership in the middle-class: occupation, religion, ethnicity, and race, with a strong association between gentility and Protestant Christianity (Fitts 1999:41). The Mission families may have endeavoured to adhere as closely as possible to the Victorian ideal to maintain the “respectable” standards expected of their social position as clergy, though in times of relative isolation these expectations may have been unfounded, except within their own homes.

During this time, society witnessed the separation of men and women’s roles into spheres of the public (male) and private (female). Middle-class women did not work outside of the home, and as discussed in this chapter, they were to be the “moral guardians of society” (Wall 1999:103). As women increased their focus in the household, the result was an elaboration of all aspects of their domestic world (Coontz 1988; Woolloch 1994:115).

This elaboration of all things domestic played an important role in the delineation of the Victorian social structure. Paul Shackel and Barbara Little (1992:8) state that “[s]ymbolic meaning plays an important role in creating a strategy for the structuring of relations in society.” Nothing could more accurately describe the influence of this domestic elaboration in the Victorian middle class household. Manifestations of this domestic elaboration were in the form of ostentatious displays of household goods and furnishings, and a corresponding shift toward an increase in the variety of decorative methods, colours, and vessel forms used for ceramics and other household items. In the realm of ceramics, transfer printed decorations were by far the most popular and relatively inexpensive to produce in numbers adequate to meet the growing demand (Wall 1991).

The development of the cult of domesticity decreed that with the separation of the male and female spheres, a woman’s duty included providing a refuge from the work-a-day world for her husband. It was in the domestic sphere of the woman where

children learned at an early age the expected behaviours and protocols of their social class. As Robert Fitts states (1999:39) the above-mentioned behaviours were class-specific and imbued with the values of gentility and "Christian morality". For frontier women, domestic duties extended out into society with the addition of setting an example for the "heathens"- both white and native. As the missionary wives were encouraged to act as examples of civilized behaviour --the "conduits of civilization"--the acceptance and subsequent promotion of what was considered to be the proper dining etiquette would have been a given, regardless of the social environment.

Throughout the Victorian era, dining became increasingly ritualized and formalized. Tables were set with specific wares, commonly of matched sets and in distinct patterns (Fitts 1999:50). Additionally, vessel forms allowed for the segmentation of table settings and separate, complete sets of ceramics established the boundaries between everyday and formal meals as well as the social ritual of the tea party (Fitts 1999:55). Such "civilized" behaviours may at one time have been an accepted part of daily life as the McDougall matriarch, Elizabeth (Chantler) McDougall and Elizabeth (Boyd) McDougall were both raised in eastern Canada, as were several of John's sisters. As such, these women had themselves been raised in the Victorian milieu with the knowledge required to perpetuate the required codes of behaviour. As I shall discuss later, the basic living conditions in the early years of the mission may have precluded active pursuit of these behaviours. However, these types of behaviour might be evident in the archaeological record at the mission in the form of porcelain and fine earthenware tea cups and matching saucers.

Granted, some of these behaviours were purely symbolic with the class boundaries assigned by way of symbols (e.g, speech, mannerisms and material goods) which would only be important to those individuals who were acquainted with the inherent meanings (Fitts 1999:40). As Sidney Levy (1959 in Henry 1991:6) states, "people buy things not only for what they do, but for what they mean". This was also true of the vessel types themselves--along with possession of the item was the knowledge required for proper usage (e.g use of an egg cup-- the small end of the egg

goes in first) (Grace Townsend 1891 quoted in Williams 1985:160 in Fitts 1999:53).

This elaboration of the domestic sphere in the Victorian middle class is particularly detected in ceramic and glass tableware assemblages. Elaboration is specifically noted by an increase in decoration, the number of decorative styles, and an associated decrease in the cost of ceramic table wares (Wall 1991). Diana Wall (1991) argues that these indices equate to an increase in the ritualization of dining behaviours in the mid-19th century. She goes on to state that material culture, such as ceramics and glass, “do not just *reflect* various aspects of culture; rather they *constitute* the very fabric of culture itself” (Wall 1991:69, original italics). Further to this Shackel and Little (1992:8) contend that because material culture is granted symbolic meaning by its creators/users we, the archaeologists, can in turn use material culture to create and reproduce these past societal behaviours.

Even in the case of children’s play, this domestic elaboration can be detected. Toy tea sets and table settings were vehicles by which daughters could be taught and practice their manners and domestic skills (Ryan 1981:161; Calvert 1992:113, 118 both in Fitts 1999). Historical documents and accounts leave no doubt that there were female children at the Morleyville Mission; therefore, this aspect of childhood behaviour should be easily discernable within the ceramic assemblage.

It is interesting to note that Fitts (1999:40) does acknowledge that membership in the Victorian middle-class was not necessarily based on wealth and therefore purchasing power. This is of particular importance when examining mission life as it is implied that the income of a Missionary was meager, at best (Ch.2). This being the case, it is more the appropriate behaviour, or lack of it, that would be the deciding factor for inclusion in the middle-class. The food may have been frugal and coarse, but the behaviours were the indices used to determine gentility.

Most studies of domestic elaboration and how it is represented in the archaeological record are based on urban rather than rural examples. Klein (1991) discusses several examples of domestic elaboration as it relates to architecture, specialized spaces, and material culture. Amongst the examples cited, Clifford Clark



(1987 in Klein 1991) indicates that while their urban counterparts were constructing homes with a separate dining room, rural families did not. John McDougall referred to their one-room home at the Fort Victoria Mission which often housed and served as dining room for 13 individuals. At Morleyville, George McDougall reported that a house had been erected to shelter three families and that each family had "a room", apparently that was one room for all activities, including dining.

Fitts (1999:53) does suggest that a count of vessel forms present in an assemblage would be a good determinant of the "gentility" of the household. The extremely fragmented assemblage at Morleyville precludes such a direct application. As well, we must take into account market availability to explain some presence and absences. Items, when broken, were not easily nor readily replaced in a rural setting such as Morleyville. It is possible that many items were curated, but accidents will happen.

Carol Shammass (1983 in Klein 1991:86) in her study of 19<sup>th</sup> century Massachusetts farmers states that farmers adopted the changes to the domestic sphere later than their urban counterparts. Though in the truest sense of the term, the Mission's inhabitants cannot be defined as "farmers", the setting is rural in nature and due to a lack of literature on frontier mission life, I would wager that there are acceptable parallels between domestic behaviours in both settings. Shammass goes on to point out what many of us who have been involved with farm life know to be fact. At any given meal, those gathered around the dining table number far greater than just immediate family, and the number of individuals present will vary seasonally with activities such as harvest.

In the case of the Morleyville Mission, the resident families played host to many travelers and visitors by virtue of its location on the Old Morley and the Banff-Cochrane-Calgary Trails, the Mission's proximity to David McDougall's and the HBC trading posts, and the N.W.M.P. post. For this reason, formal private family meals would have been virtually unknown. However, Amy Friedlander (1991:28) indicates that as greater separation appears within living quarters, elaboration of service correspondingly increases. She attributes this as being "reflective of greater attention to

privacy and the 'ineffable' question of style" (1991:28). Additionally Klein (1991:87) states that the manner in which meals were served and the "function" of meals also varied between the urban and rural settings. In rural settings, the food quantities may have been greater (subject to availability), though less varied and of a simpler nature than in an urban setting, (LeeDecker 1991:39) with a less formalized serving style, likely done by family members rather than servants. The principal focus of rural meals was primarily to serve the dual purposes of supplying sustenance and socialization.

### **5.3 Summary**

This chapter has provided a glimpse into the role and expectations of Methodist women, especially those at frontier missions. Many of these women undoubtedly approached the prospect of life at an isolated frontier mission as part and parcel of their Christian duty and their responsibilities as a spouse. These women were given the task of not only setting the example of a good Christian home but were also expected to be the ever able helpmate of their husbands and all other duties which came their way. Unfortunately, women's voices are often lacking in the historical record and we can only surmise what their lives were like.

The Victorian era witnessed the rise of the middle class, which included members of the clergy and their families. Many of the Victorian expectations of women were echoed by those of Methodism and its tenets. A major emphasis was now on the domestic sphere and the increased importance placed on the role of women within it.

With such close parallels between the two ideologies of Methodism and Victorianism: their joint emphasis on the importance of women, the home and the domestic sphere it is not difficult to understand why they grew concurrently in popularity. The question arises whether we are able to detect such ideologies in the material culture from a given site? While ideologies are intangible they can be manifested in behaviours and may be measure by tangible items which, may in turn be seen as indicators of these ideologies. In the following chapters this issue is addressed as the excavations are discussed and the material culture analyzed.

## **Chapter 6**

### **ARTIFACT ANALYSIS**

**“Material culture makes culture material”**

**(Grant McCracken)**

Now, equipped with some background material on Methodism, the Victorians and, perhaps, most importantly the role women played in both of these groups, the focus of this thesis turns to the material culture—the artifact assemblage from Morleyville Mission. As James Deetz (1972:4) so aptly states “[the] concern for the material objects of the past, the ‘small things forgotten,’ is central to the work of historical archaeologists. Archaeology is the study of past peoples based on the things they left behind and the way they left their imprint on the world”.

The analysis of the Morleyville artifacts was pursued with the objective of discerning activities within the domestic sphere. To this end I focused primarily on items related to women’s activities in the household—the domestic sphere and the concept of domestic elaboration. To examine elaboration required observation primarily of the ceramic waretypes, matching decorative patterns and items of unique or special character, such as tea wares.

#### **6.1 Archaeological Expectations, Artifact Analysis and Discussion**

##### **6.1.1 *Archaeological Expectations***

When examining any situation pertaining to households Susan Henry (1991:11-12) reminds us that

A household's behaviour is idiosyncratic, however, and its site assemblage reflects that idiosyncrasy. There is no way of knowing how well any household serves as a typical example of any group, *unless* the parameters, norms, symbols of membership, and life-styles of a groups have been clearly defined in terms of data that archaeology and documents can provide. (Original italics).

I have attempted to establishing such parameters by providing background information regarding Methodism, its adherents, and key figures in the development of the Morleyville Mission. The position of women in Methodism during the Victorian era in both urban and rural settings and frontier life has been discussed. However, the true picture of a frontier mission's domestic sphere may prove to be elusive as there is an almost non-existent body of comparative data to work with.

Methodism and Victorian ideologies correspond closely in several areas, such as intolerance for intoxication and addictions (Reckner and Brighton 1999:67). In fact, as is previously illustrated the definition of Methodists and middle-class Victorians could be seen as one and the same. I believe that many of the Mission's residents were firmly entrenched in the Victorian middle-class and its trappings, if only by virtue of birth and status ascribed to members of the clergy and their families. However, I must add a caution to the previous statement: most, if not all studies done on Victorian domestic elaboration have focused on urban households in the eastern United States (e.g. Wall 1991).

It is quite likely that the Mission women did their best to adhere to the tenets of both Methodism and Victorianism in spite of the obstacles such as isolation and lack of access to material goods. We can only speculate to what extent this may have taken place but the importance of maintaining these behaviours had been ingrained throughout their upbringing.

Though these mission dwellers were at that time living on the frontier, many of them (e.g. the McDougalls) had been in Alberta for several years at other settlements such as Ft. Victoria and Ft. Edmonton. After at least a decade of living in frontier missions how likely was it that these women were still adhering to the dictates of the

Victorian times? While such behaviours may have been the norm in their eastern Canadian homes and perhaps, even upon their early days on the northwestern frontier did these behaviours continue? Perhaps it is more realistic to propose that the "good" items, the finer pieces had long since been broken during one of their moves or from use. There may have been the exceptional piece which survived and became a curated display item. The remains of some of these items may be evident in the archaeological record.

Matched dinner sets would have been a part of the domestic elaboration, but once pieces were broken it may not have been possible to replace them. This being the case, rather than exact matches perhaps the women were at least attempting to set up a proper table using similar, if not identical patterns, such as florals, or plain ceramic wares.

Supply and access to these resources may have been a major factor in what we see as representative of the domestic sphere. Supply lines were firmly entrenched in the region by the time Morleyville was established. These supply lines would have included David McDougall's store, Ft. Edmonton, Ft. Benton (Montana), and eventually Ft. Calgary. In later years, mail order from Eaton's and Sears, Roebuck was readily available.

Mail order catalogues may have been a major source of ceramic tablewares for the mission inhabitants. The mail order catalogues provide us with insight into the varieties available and the relative prices of ceramic ware types. The Eaton's Fall and Winter (1901:166, 167) catalogue of 1901 advertises "Ohme's Fine German china" fruit plates at \$1.35 per dozen and similar items of decorated English semi-porcelain are \$.55 per dozen, while Meakin's "Wheat" pattern fruit plates were \$.45 per dozen.

There is no indication whether these patterns were continuous open stock or limited runs. The women may well have tried within their limited financial means and product availability to keep up middle class appearances as much as they were able. They understood the rules but had to live their lives within what was reasonable and applicable to their situation.

In the mission homes, if domestic elaboration had been developing the

archaeological record would show an overall increase in the quality of waretypes and an accompanying increase in the variety of decorative methods and colours. However, if instead the mission's households were in fact trying to do the best they could to appear middle class with whatever was available the record would be quite different.

With the latter being the case, while matched sets may be a distinct possibility, the presence of similar, but different, patterned pieces may be expected. The ceramic waretypes would be of a more utilitarian standard rather than finer, costlier, luxury waretypes such as porcelain. The presence of decorative methods such as transfer prints would remain consistent as this decorative method had gained a strong popularity in the late 1800s.

With regards to the identities, and therefore make-up of the households, the identities of the occupants of specific house depressions (FDA and FDE) have not been definitively determined. I would argue that the Mission households might be considered what Charles LeeDecker calls the "augmented family" (1994:348) in that the households would have been comprised of either a nuclear or extended family with occasional additions of kin or non-kin (e.g. boarders, lodgers, seasonal labour). Features A1 and A2 were believed to be associated with FDA, and the association of FT5 remains unclear (see Figure 4.2). The Garbage Dump stands alone as the only known refuse deposit on the site.

Corresponding with the state of the ceramics is the category of "Other Glass". Once again, these items are generally in a fragmented state. The greatest proportions of "Other Glass" consists of flat window glass and lamp chimney fragments, while tableware is a substantially smaller grouping. Several items have been reconstructed and as such shall be included in the general discussion. The items included are predominantly tableware as these would be complementary to the goal of domestic elaboration. The presence/absence of decorative glass tableware may appear in accordance with the ceramics.

The category of "Bottles and Jars" also contains mostly fragments of bottle bodies, bases, necks, and finishes with approximately one dozen complete small bottles.

For this reason, this category will be included in the general discussion of findings. During the Mission's occupation, it was not uncommon for the times, or even today, to receive foodstuffs, such as pickles, in distinctive jars. Presence of such items would not be unexpected, even with the practice of home canning. As is befitting a rural settlement, evidence of home preserving, in the form of canning jars, would not be surprising. Regardless of the establishment of trade and availability, it was simple economics which saw rural women "putting up" supplies for the winter. A woman's domestic stature was often measured within her community by her ability to preserve goods for the year ahead (Adams 1977:53). Even today, such activities are still an annual activity and canning jars are a seasonal staple on the retail shelves of Canada.

The Methodist tenet of abstinence towards fermented beverages has been previously discussed in Chapter 2. However in opposition to expectations these, and patent medicine bottles, may be found on the site.

#### ***6.1.2 Artifact Distribution, Examination and Discussion by Feature***

The following section includes examination and discussion of artifacts in each feature. The primary focus of the analysis will be on the Ceramic collection, with Other Glass, Bottles and Jars, and other categories introduced where applicable. However, before the analysis and discussion there are a few points which I believe deserve some clarification.

The first of these is stratigraphic deposition. In an ideal world archaeologists would find stratigraphy laid down in precise, regular layer cake-like levels. Unfortunately, we work in the real world and as such, few things are perfect. On the Mission site, there are three types of features which are under examination: privies, house depressions, and a garbage dump.

Deposition in the privies is most often conical with in-filling on the outer, lower perimeters of the cone as a result of a "tumble down" effect, or gravity. In essence, due to the various laws of physics some items when deposited at the peak of the cone will

tumble down the sides and come to rest at various spots along the shoulders and at the base of the cone. When a privy is subsequently excavated in arbitrarily established measured horizontal levels this conical deposition may be evident only in profile. Recalling the depositional history of such a privy feature will help account for re-fitted sherds which come from several widely dispersed levels.

In the case of house depressions and garbage dumps, a similar effect is in action. Refuse is seldom distributed evenly across the surface of the depression by virtue of the expedient nature of discard. Items are tossed in with usually little heed paid to spreading the deposits uniformly across the surface. Once again, we may see the creation of small conical deposits as in privies. As well, there may be some in-filling of uneven surfaces and between previous mounded deposits. As with privy deposition, this type of deposition may again result in re-fitted items being located throughout a feature in various levels.

The second point of clarification is the classification of ceramics into recognized waretypes which may offer some confusion regarding what is being identified as a specific type. George Miller (1980:3) makes an important point regarding the classification of ceramic types when he states that the definitions used today by archaeologists may not be those used by an item's producer in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In deference to the lumpers and the splitters of the world, I have supplied definitions of the waretypes as they are currently understood. It is important to bear in mind that the ceramic waretype categories as assigned to the Morleyville ceramics in the 1980s are not necessarily terms which are in common and accepted use today. One example is the designation of "bone china" as a separate waretype when in fact today, and in this thesis, it is included in the Porcelain category.

All ceramics have clay as a common component. Beyond this there are additional differences in the variety of components added to the clay, the manufacturing process, the level of vitrification (determined by firing temperature), and the finishing process. Following are explanations of the waretypes as employed in this thesis.



**Earthenware:** soft, water-absorbent body made impermeable by glazing. Through time, earthenwares have been refined to a thinner and harder body possessing a near white body colour (Deetz 1977:68-72). Earthenware is a very broad category within which wares range from fine to coarse, utilitarian items and are often further subdivided into types based on observable differences in glaze, decoration, and paste (Miller 1980:1). Miller (1980:1) points out that often much of this is based on personal opinion, and having worked with this collection, I heartily concur!

**Red Earthenware:** usually coarse grained and used for utilitarian items such as unglazed terra cotta flower pots and drain tiles.

**Ironstone:** a fine-grained, high-fired porous white earthenware similar to porcelain, indeed often considered intermediate between earthenware and porcelain (Collard 1967:125; Gates and Ormerod 1982:8). The term "Iron Stone China" came into popular use in the early 1800s and now in the 20<sup>th</sup> century is considered the term for a generally tough earthenware. Other common names were used somewhat indiscriminately by the trade in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (e.g. white granite, stone china) as indicators of grade or type of white earthenware (Gates and Ormerod 1982:8). By the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ironstone met all the requirements of the frontier settlers; strong, hardwearing, and cheap.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century pieces frequently had a blue-gray hue to the glaze. Decoration was often done by applying transfer prints under a glaze.

**Porcelain:** contains kaolin as a major clay component. Porcelain is fired at high temperatures, resulting in a fine-grained, non-porous material which is highly translucent and vitrified or glass-like (Dean 1984:2). It is porcelain's highly translucent qualities and bell-like tone when struck gently that make it highly prized and set it apart from other ceramics. Porcelains are commonly the most expensive of the ceramic waretypes.

Porcelain is frequently subdivided into a variety of wares such as hard paste, soft paste, bone china, and by country of origin (Miller 1980:1). Bone China was often advertised in 19<sup>th</sup> century North America as "Chinaware" when in reality it is a type of soft paste porcelain (Dean 1984:3; Miller 1980:1).

**Stoneware:** some varieties contain kaolin, silica and/or flint. Stoneware is fired at temperatures similar to porcelain, but is not as translucent nor as costly as porcelain. Early stoneware was often fired with salt glaze and today is often found unglazed as it possesses a non-porous surface (Dean 1984:3). As with earthenware, stonewares are frequently subdivided by differences in glaze, decoration, and paste (Miller 1980:1).

#### **6.1.2.1 Foundation A**

**Foundation A**, a house foundation, contained a total of 6830 artifacts of which 373 (5.5% of the feature total) were Ceramic. Of the ceramic artifacts, earthenware predominates with 286 [76.7% of ceramic total], followed distantly by ironstone with 41 [11%]; porcelain 27 [7.2%]; stoneware 14 [3.75%]; and unidentified ceramics providing 5 sherds [1.34%].

Of the other categories being considered for analysis Other Glass was represented by 460 artifacts (6.7% of feature total), and Bottles and Jars 660 (9.7%). Generally the remainder of the artifacts in this feature consisted of: Nails, the largest single category numbering 3487 (51.1%); Metal Containers 817 (12.0%); Other Metal 787 (11.5%); Arms/Ammunition 27 (0.4%); Fastenings 27 (0.4%); and Miscellaneous 192 (2.8%).

In the Other Glass category of 460 artifacts fully 355 [77.2% of category total] are identified as flat window glass, followed by 79 [17.2%] sherds of lamp chimneys. Glass tableware from this category is represented by only 4 artifacts [0.43%]. Such a minimal representation must be called to the reader's attention as it was my intention to include Other Glass as one of the three categories of focus. In the instance of this feature, it is not possible to use this category to support any extensive discussion on domestic elaboration.

The earliest levels (13-18) and mid-levels (7-12) contained a moderate and not unexpected number of items from all categories. However, in the upper most one-third (levels 1-6) of this feature the stratigraphic artifact distribution increases sharply. Metal

containers and nails (both machine cut and wire) increase dramatically at this point and the two upper most levels contain the greatest proportion of flat and bottle glass found in this feature. The increased presence of artifacts from all categories appears to indicate abandonment or post-abandonment activity as illustrated in these upper levels. The one exception to this is the distribution of lamp chimney fragments (lighting devices) which appear to be evenly distributed throughout all levels.

With regard to ceramic artifacts, the earliest levels (13-18) contained few ceramic artifacts. Though few in total the majority of these were earthenware sherds. Amongst the earthenware were rim sherds from transfer-print decorated dinner plates of two distinct, though still unidentified patterns, the first of which is a turquoise-on-white scallop-edged dinner plate (Figure 6.1), while the second, which I will refer to as "Cloverleaf", is a brown-on-white pattern (Figure 6.2).

Stoneware in the earliest levels remains rare and identified only to waretype. There are several identifiable ironstone sherds, such as the rim and body sherds of a large white glazed, undecorated wash basin.

It is likely that the earliest third of this feature does represent the early active occupation of the house. The scant artifacts recovered from levels 13-18 may be indicative of safe storage of breakables and usage of other dining materials. The presence of two distinct patterns early in this level may indicate that matched dining sets were already in use. Or the sherds may have been subject to depositional factors, as discussed in 6.1.2, which resulted in deposition and recovery from varied levels. Dating of these early deposits is quite inconclusive.

An increase in ceramic sherds is noted in the mid-levels (7-12) where in addition to the earthenwares, ironstone and stoneware appear more frequently. These mid-levels yielded earthenware sherds representative of a cobalt blue and white floral patterned transfer print tea cup and saucer. Earthenware sherds with the partial maker's mark of "Taylor & Co.", of Newcastle upon Tyne, Northumberland, England are present (Figure 6.3) (Godden 1964:610). Unfortunately, the dates of manufacture cannot be confirmed as the maker's mark is incomplete. On several re-fitted earthenware sherds is an

incomplete maker's mark of "W.H. Grindley & Co.", an English pottery which operated from 1914 to 1925 (L12) (Figure 6.3) (Godden 1964:294).

Sherds representing the bowl of a red-bodied earthenware pipe were found in this middle section of the feature. Ironstone is represented by the undated partial maker's mark attributed to Meakin & Co. (Figure 6.4), several rim sherds of a plain white wash basin, and a blue-hued, relief molded sherd identified as "Wheat and Hops" (Figure 6.5). This pattern has been dated to approximately post c.1865 (Sussman 1985). The seemingly conflicting dates within these levels (Grindley 1914-1925 and Wheat and Hops ca.1885) may be the result of depositional factors as discussed earlier in this chapter.

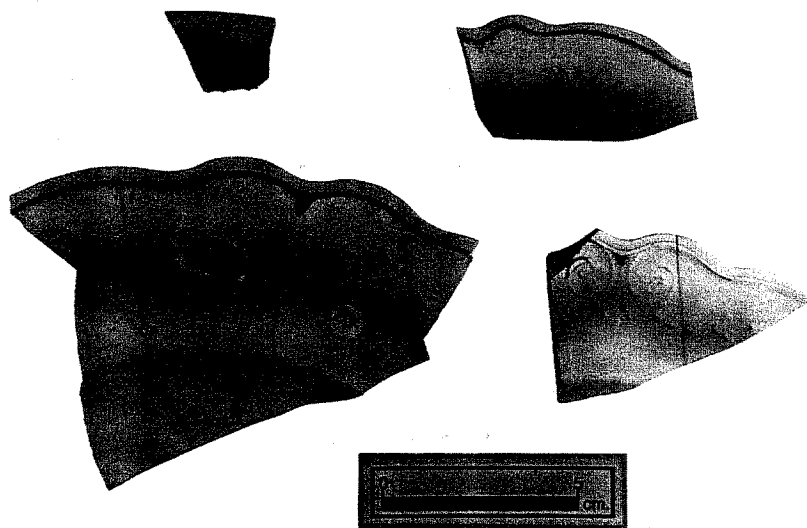
Stoneware is represented by the unglazed handle of an unidentified vessel. Porcelain is first noted in FDA in the middle levels. These sherds are representative of at least one doll (face sherd and molded hair) (Figure 6.6).

Other Glass is found in the form of pressed glass rim sherds with a cross-hatched heart pattern. The sherds have been tentatively identified as those of a small lid (Figure 6.7).

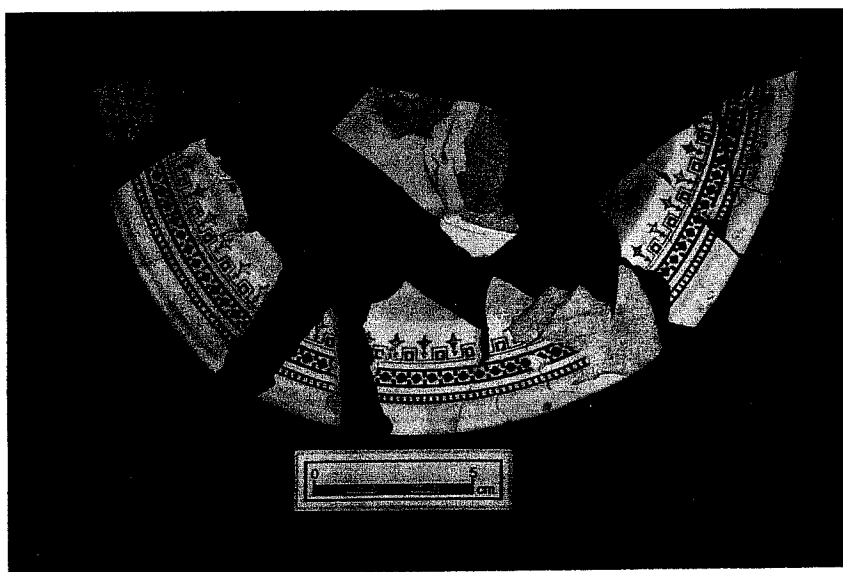
It is also in these mid levels where the finish/neck and and finish/neck/shoulder of two dark green bottles, possibly from wine, are found. Forty-five sherds of an amethyst coloured bottle from "Liquizone" were recovered from this level. This product was manufactured c. 1876, but exactly what constituted the product remains a mystery (Wilson 1981).

Obviously, the turquoise scallop-edged set is being used to a greater extent and suffering for it as its increased sherd count shows. The appearance of utilitarian vessels of stoneware and ironstone is to be expected. The increased frequency of sherds of all types may be due to increased family size and/or activity within the household. By the mid-levels of this feature ceramics which at one time had been stored away may have been brought into more active use for lack of other vessels.

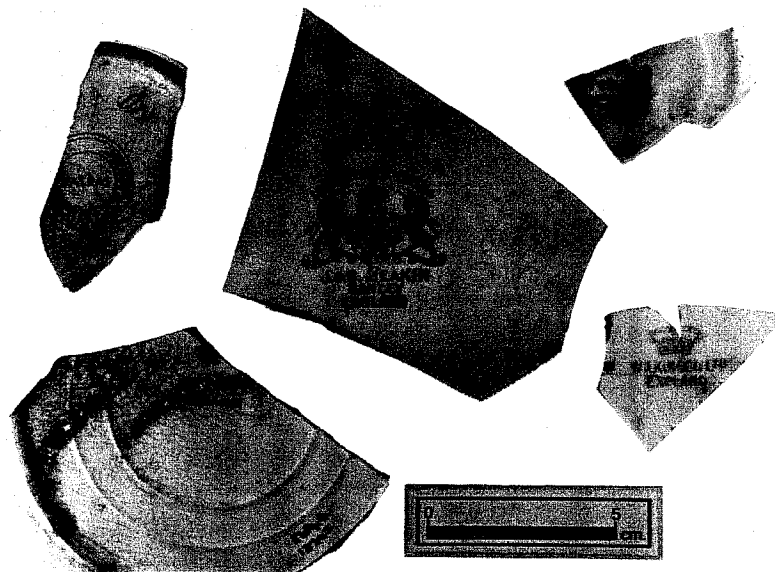
The appearance of the pressed glass indicates that there were some decorative glass table items present. Of the bottles and glass category, the presence of the wine



**Figure 6.1:** Turquoise-on-white scallop-edged sherds.  
Clockwise from top left: cup, saucer/small bowl, dinner plate, small plate.



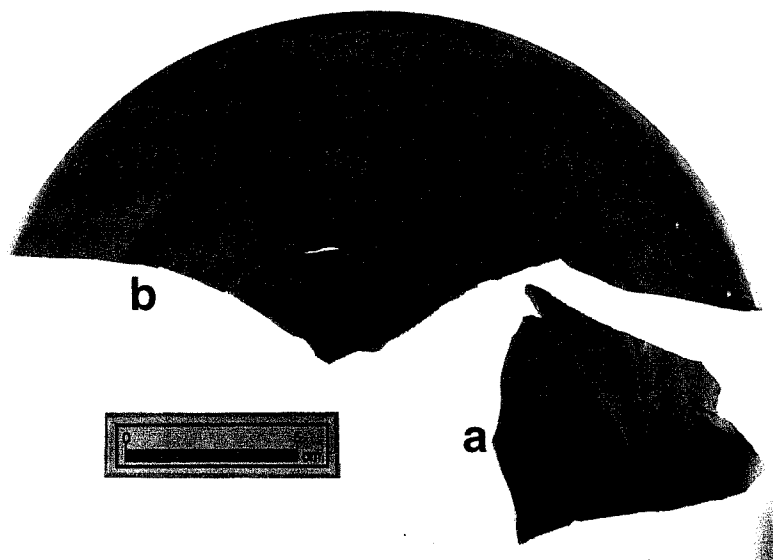
**Figure 6.2:** Brown-on-white, "Cloverleaf" plate sherds  
and "P. B. & S" maker's mark.



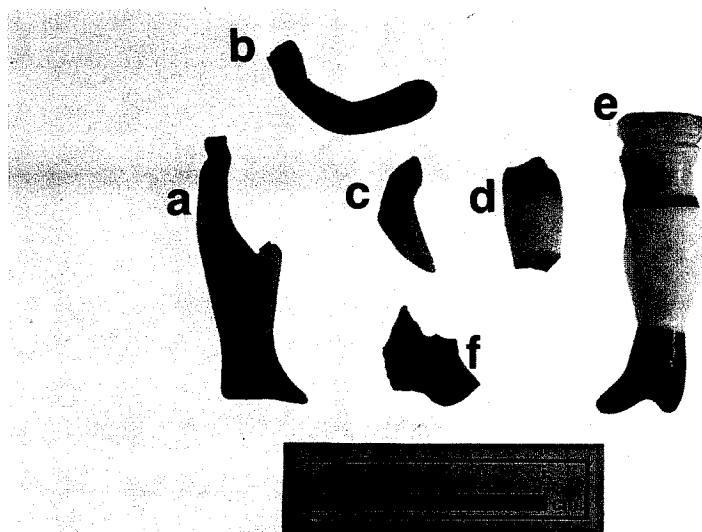
**Figure 6.3: Makers' marks.**  
 Clockwise from top left: "Patras" (C.E. & M.); Meakin; Unidentified;  
 Wilkinson; "Alton" (Grindley).



**Figure 6.4: Makers' marks.**  
 Clockwise from top left; Grindley; St. Johns; Unidentified; P.B. & S;  
 Taylor; Unidentified; Unidentified.



**Figure 6.5:** a) "Wheat and Hops" pattern,  
b) plate rim sherd of "Wheat" pattern.



**Figure 6.6:** Porcelain doll fragments.  
a, b and c are bisque finish portions of dolls,  
a and c have painted details, d and e are glazed, f has a matte finish with colour.

bottle finishes does leave the issue of abstinence open to some question, though the argument would be a weak one. The "Liquizone" bottle provides a *terminus post quem* for dating these mid-levels of c. 1876.

As the upper levels (1-6) are reached there is a definite increase in the number of ceramic sherds. Earthenware is well represented in these levels. There is an earthenware tea cup handle of the cobalt blue and white floral transfer printed tea cup and saucer sherds from the middle levels. Earthenware is further represented by a small cream coloured bowl which has been reconstructed (L 5-6). It is decorated with lithographed rose clusters on the inner surface and bears no other identifying marks. Additionally several earthenware sherds of teacups and saucers of a fluted white, gold rimmed pattern are found. The maker's mark indicates that these were manufactured by "Wilkinson Ltd., England" ca. 1896-1947 (Figure 6.4)(Kovel and Kovel 1986:673).

The turquoise scallop-edged earthenware does not reappear outside the earlier, middle levels. However, the brown-on-white "Cloverleaf" pattern is represented by one identifiable rim sherd.

Representative of ironstone are the body sherds of a blue-hued vessel decorated with the relief molded pattern of "Wheat and Hops", ca. 1865 (Sussman 1985). These two sherds have been matched with a sherd from the mid-levels. Stoneware was not found in the earliest levels.

Porcelain is present in the form of rim and body sherds of a fruit nappy (Figure 6.8). This fruit nappy was reconstructed and displays a transfer printed pattern of a pink rose garland encircling the inner rim. The maker's mark of "Vienna/Austria" identifies this item to place of origin, but dating is inconclusive (Bagdade and Bagdade 1991:371).

Amongst the porcelains from the upper levels are the rim and body sherds of a tea cup and saucer (Figure 6.9) bearing an underglaze painted pattern of yellow blossoms. The reconstructed saucer bears the maker's mark of "Victoria/Austria", indicating a manufacture date of post-1883 (Cushion 1996:58).

Identifiable glass items are present in the upper most levels in the forms of fragments of a glass canning jar lid, a dark green bottle finish, possibly from wine, and in



a separate level a dark green bottle base with a slight kick-up.

It is at these later levels where the dramatic increase in several artifact categories (metal containers, nails, flat glass and bottles) leads to the conclusion that the house had been abandoned and we are seeing evidence of the in-filling of this feature. In short, the house and the resulting depression were being used as a dump site for material from other locales on site.

Transfer printed ceramic wares and ironstone bearing the “Wheat” pattern were popular choices in the latter decades of the 1800s. This popularity is evidenced by the ubiquitous presence on historical sites of sherds representing both types. Therefore, it is not surprising throughout the vertical profile that transfer print wares remain strong in their presence. Porcelain has made a strong showing in the upper levels and does indicate the presence on site of special tea wares and, in the case of the fruit nappies, a matched dessert setting. This increase in porcelains, the most expensive of the ceramics, may indicate several occurrences: use of curated items (safer environment for use--e.g. no small children); increase in household income; availability of more costly, fragile items.

The fluted white “Wilkinson” (c.1896) and the yellow floral porcelain tea cups and saucers (c.1883) and the “Wheat and Hops” ironstone (c.1865) provide a date range for these later levels of c. 1865 to 1896 respectively.

#### **6.1.2.2 Feature A1**

This privy feature was believed to have been associated with FDA. The excavation extended to 8 levels (a depth of 1 m) and yielded 2018 artifacts. Of this total 72 ceramic sherds (3.6% of feature total) were recovered: earthenware is represented by 33 sherds [45.8% of ceramic total], ironstone sherds are of almost equal numbers 30 [41.7%], and porcelain is a distant third with 9 sherds [12.5%]. No stoneware nor red earthenware sherds were recovered in this feature.

Among the other categories under analysis Other Glass is the largest category with 1244 artifacts (61.6% of feature total), the bulk of these being flat glass, 1207

sherds (59.8%). Lighting devices (lamp chimneys) numbered 28, glass tableware 3, and unidentified sherds 6. Bottles and Jars were represented by 32 sherds (1.6%), all of which were unidentified to function.

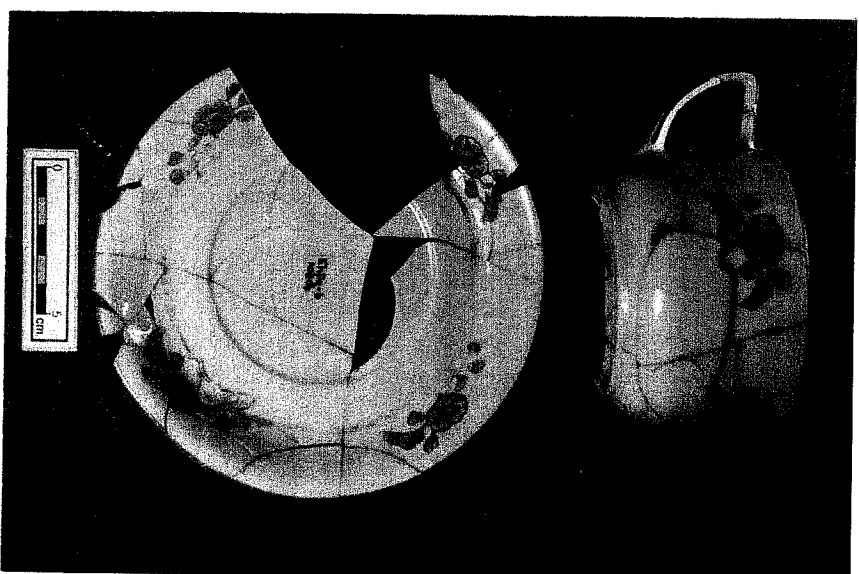
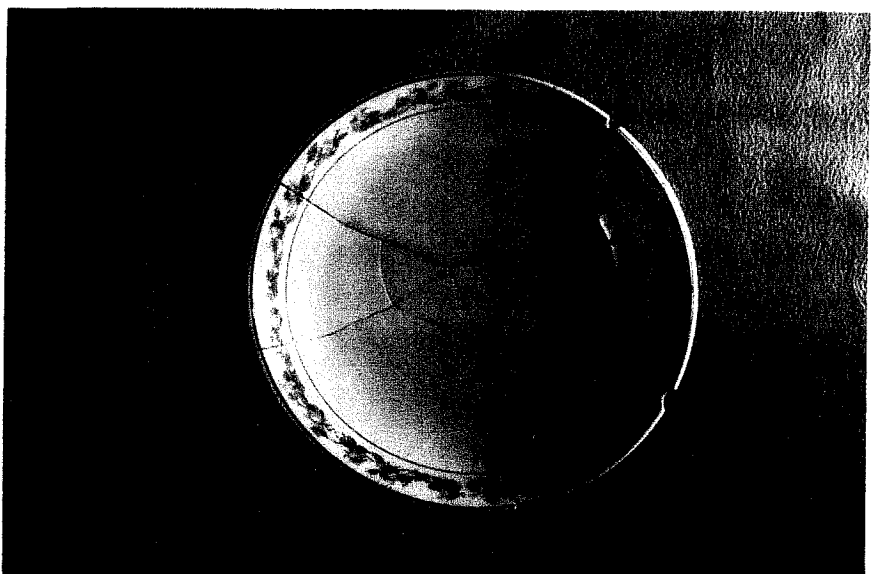
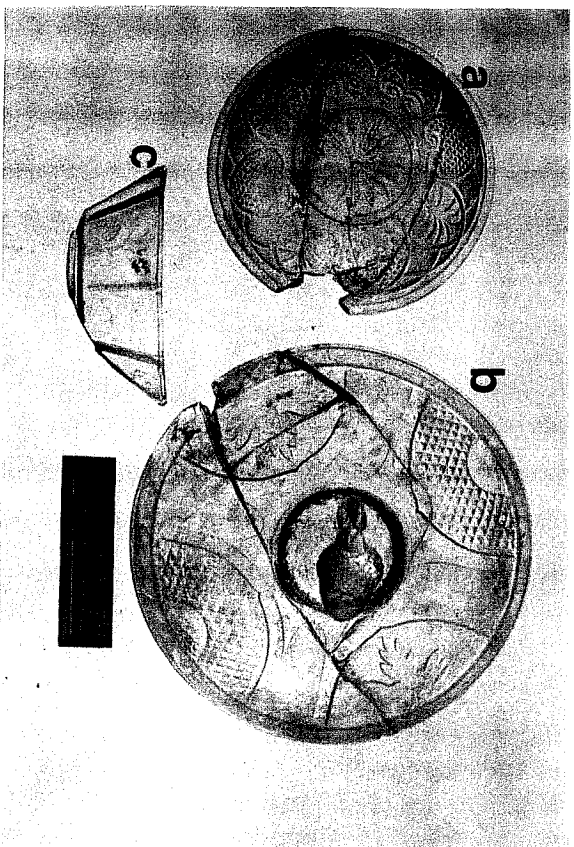
The other artifacts recovered in this feature are Nails 237 (11.7%); Metal Containers 324 (16.1%); Other Metal 35 (1.7%); Arms/Ammunition and Fastenings were both 0; Miscellaneous accounted for 74 (3.7%).

The range of artifacts in this feature appear quite typical of privy deposits. In the earliest levels artifacts are predominantly from the categories of Other Metal, Nails and only a few metal containers (7 total). It is in these lower levels where the often eclectic nature of privy deposits becomes quite evident. Several small white glass four-hole shirt buttons were found as well as metal serving spoons, small glass bottles, pencil leads, leather foot wear, a section of a clerical collar (?) and a Queen Victoria coin (illegible date).

The earliest level (L 8) yielded only nails. It is not until the next level (7) that ironstone sherds are encountered. This is the principal ceramic represented in the earliest levels. These sherds have been reconstructed to their original forms of a plain white slop bowl and a "Wheat" pattern saucer (Figures 6.10 and 6.11). It is interesting that even in such utilitarian ware as ironstone that the slop bowl, usually part of a tea service, was present. The "Wheat" saucer bears the maker's mark of "Robert Cochrane & Co., Glasgow". Lynne Sussman (1985:20) identifies this firm as operating from 1865-1918, with this particular mark used early in the company's history. Robert Cochrane's company had one basic pattern (wheat), "Ceres", which they manufactured for 15 years. "Ceres" is distinguished from other wheat patterns by the relatively wide and distinct middle row of kernels in the wheat head. One earthenware sherd of the "Cloverleaf" pattern was recovered.

One of the few complete artifacts from the site is encountered in level 6 mid-way through the profile. This is the small white ironstone jug (Figure 6.12) decorated with the relief molded "Wheat" pattern and bearing the maker's mark of "W & E Corn" pottery of England, manufactured in the late 1800s (Sussman 1985:22). Sussman tells





us that after 1878 this company produced "white graniteware" specifically for export to the United States and other foreign markets. Also in the mid-levels are found rim and body sherds of an ironstone dinner plate also decorated with the relief molded "Wheat" pattern (L3-6), the rim sherds of a white, undecorated ironstone saucer (L 5), and the rim and body sherds of an undecorated white ironstone wide-rimmed soup bowl (L4).

Earthenware is represented by the complete body and rim sherds of a sponge decorated "handle-less" tea cup (Figure 6.13) (L 4-5). It appears that this particular style of tea cup was purposely manufactured lacking this appendage. The pattern is green and brown and encircling the outer rim. Also of interest is the rim and partial body sherd of a dinner plate and rim sherds of a smaller plate with a brown-on-white "Cloverleaf"-style pattern (L6). This sherd was cross-mended to the sherd from level 7.

Porcelain was recovered from the mid to the later levels (2-6). Reconstruction of the sherds identified them as a white glazed toy tea cup with a fine gold band circling the outside of the body. The remainder of the ceramic sherds found in this feature are identifiable only to waretype.

Bottles and Jars were not an overwhelming presence with the possible exception being the top level where 22 bottles (68.8% of category total) were recovered. Flat glass by sheer volume of sherds peaks during the 4 middle levels (6-3), especially at level 6 (302 sherds) and 4 (525 sherds). Other glass in the upper levels (L3) are clear, colourless glass rim and body sherds of a small pressed glass bowl (fruit nappy?) (Figure 6.7). The side panels are decorated with a branch and three leaf (maple?) design.

From the earliest levels upward, Nails, Other Metals and Metal containers are not a significant presence. Throughout this feature, nails of both the wire and cut varieties are present. At the mid-level mark (L 5) nails do increase in number 52 [21.9% of total nails] and this number declines gradually to the later levels, while the other metal categories remain a vague representation throughout.

In the realm of miscellanea, buttons continue to appear throughout, as do beads,

but neither is represented in an overwhelming number. The buttons for the most part are plain shirt style and the beads wire drawn, turquoise and approximately .65cm x .85cm. Leather footwear and scrap leather also appear throughout the feature.

If indeed this privy was associated with FDA, there are few correlations which may support this claim. There are sherds of "Cloverleaf" found in both features, in the lowest levels for FDA and in level 7, one of the earlier levels of FA1. There is the expected range of miscellaneous articles as expected from a privy though FA1 does not contain any identified alcohol bottles which often occur in privies. In levels 3-5 of FA1, there is a sharp increase in the volume of categories corresponding to increased deposition for the latter third of FDA. These categories (nails, other glass, etc) are rather ubiquitous on this site and this makes for a tenuous connection at best.

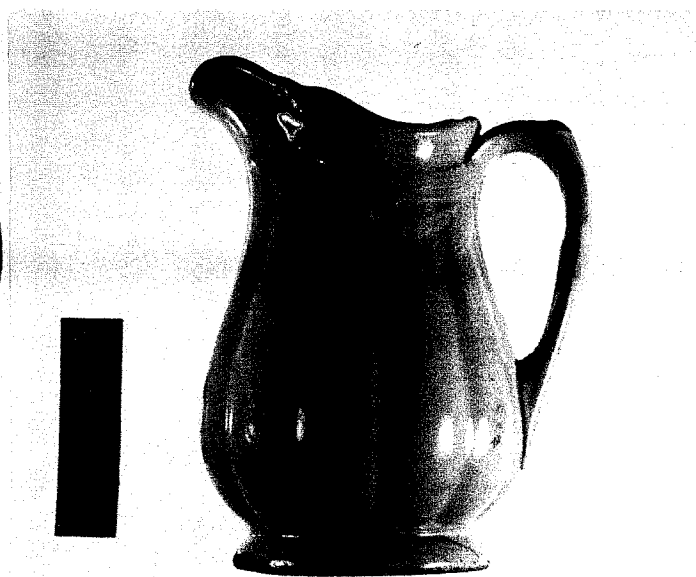
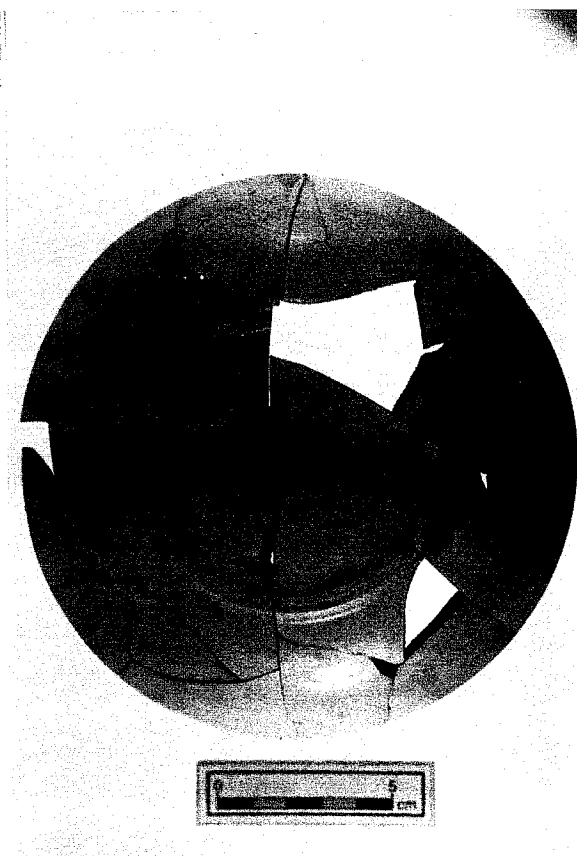
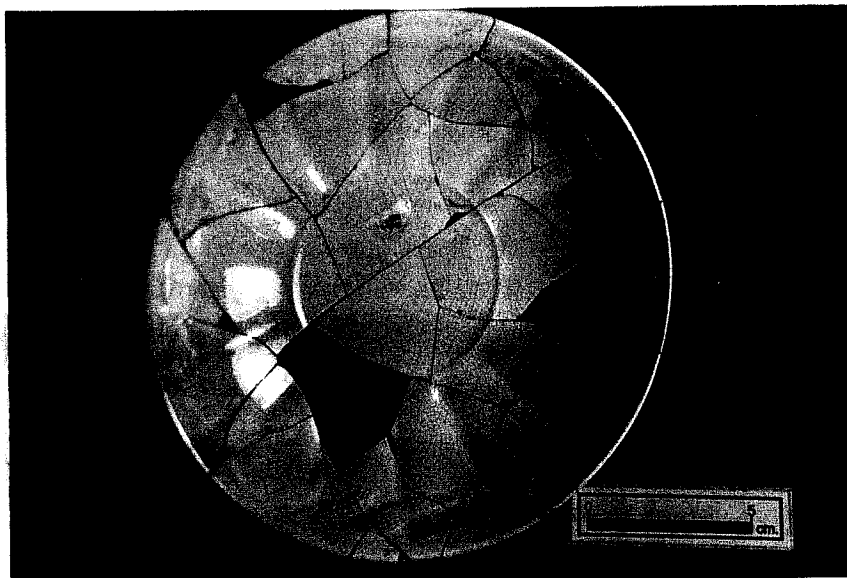
#### **6.1.2.3 Feature A2**

Along with FA1, FA2 has also been assessed as being associated with FDA. FA2 yielded 421 artifacts from 8 levels and was excavated to a depth of 90 cm. The Ceramic category was represented by 12 sherds in total ( 2.9% of total artifacts). This is an exceptionally small sample, though not unusual in this feature given the totals of other categories, with the exception of Other Glass. Within the Ceramics, earthenware accounts for 7 sherds [58.3% of ceramics]; Porcelain 4 [33.3%]; and unidentified sherds 1 [8.33%].

As previously mentioned, most other categories have low representation: Nails 56 (13.3% of total artifacts); Other Metal 38 (9.0%); Metal Containers 20 (4.8%); Bottles and Jars 64 (15.2%); Other Glass 208 (49.4%); and Miscellaneous 23 (5.5%). In the Other Glass category 124 sherds are flat glass [59.6% of category total], while 64 [30.8%] are from lighting devices, 6 are identified as tableware [2.9%] and 14 [6.7%] sherds are unidentified. All of the Bottles and Jars are unidentified as to function.

The early levels (7-8) of this feature contain little of note. The initial level (8) contained predominantly nails -both machine cut and wire- (7 nails), and flat glass (13 sherds). Of particular note in the lower levels are the fragments of a red-bodied







earthenware pipe bowl with no other identifying marks. Earthenware sherds of a blue and white transfer print were recovered but remain unidentifiable beyond waretype. The porcelain found in the early levels was one-half of a toy tea cup. It has a plain white bisque finish with impressed vertical lines effectively creating quilted panels. The ceramics throughout this feature are sparse, concentrated in the earliest levels (7-8) and are identified only to waretype.

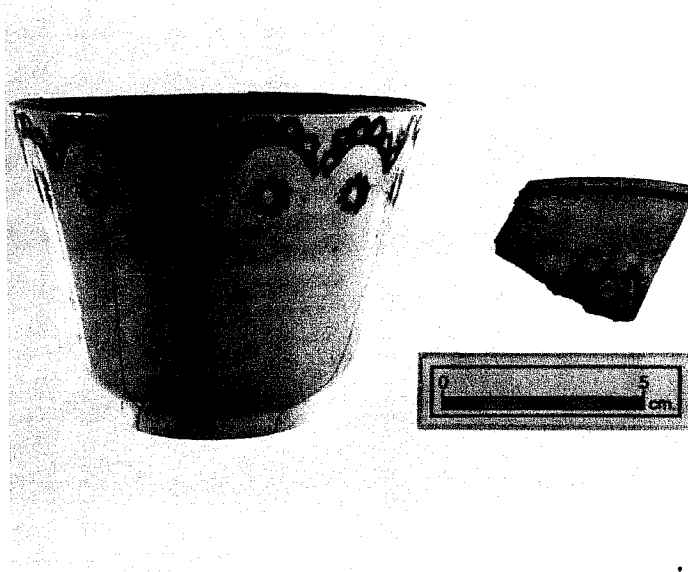
An outstanding piece from the Other Glass category is a crystal salt shaker with sterling silver lid from the mid levels (4-6) (Figure 6.14). This piece could have graced a dining table in any setting. There is a generally low occurrence of nails in these middle levels and in two levels (4 & 5) there are neither nails nor ceramics found. However flat glass and lamp chimneys are quite prevalent. All other artifact categories are sparsely distributed. Additionally in this feature shot gun cartridge cases appear in the middle levels (4-6).

In the later levels (1-3), levels 1 and 2 are dominated by flat glass and bottle sherds. Throughout these levels there are few ceramic sherds and of these none are identifiable beyond waretype. All other categories are low in representation.

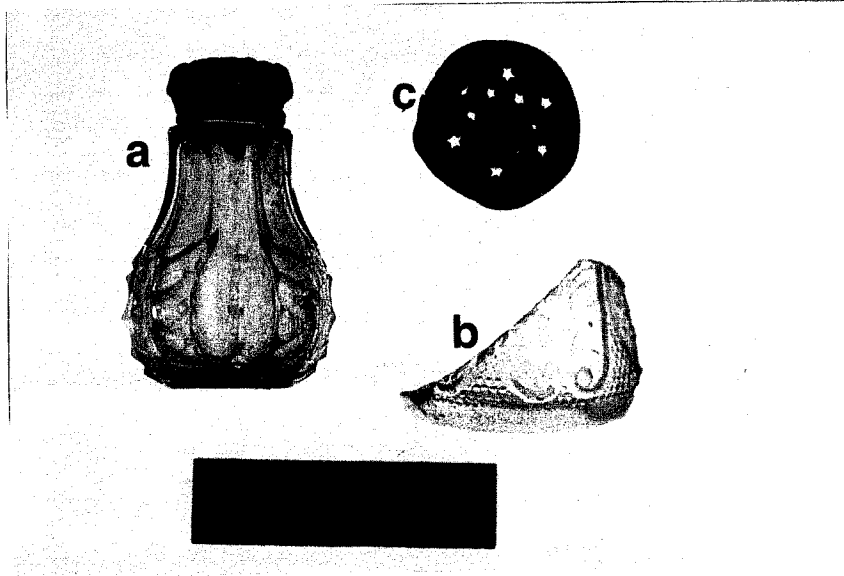
Bottle and jar sherds were generally quite fragmented and not identifiable as to function. This feature contained several scraps of both wool and silk fabrics and buttons of both small white shirt-type glass and mother-of-pearl but never in substantial amounts.

While the lower levels (i.e. 7) display the highest incidence of flat glass, 41 sherds, it appears that there was a general increase in deposition in most categories through the levels 3 to 6. There is not an outstanding jump in the numbers of artifacts recovered, but there appears to be a trend of deposition which peaks at level 6 and then declines again, with mild fluctuations, to the later levels.

Once again, this privy is believed associated with FDA. Because FA2 has a generally weak artifact representation, though quite varied, there is not a lot base this claim on. There are, however, bowl and rim sherds of the red-bodied earthenware pipe found in approximately the same levels (FDA:6; FA2: 7) and these sherds cross-mend.



**Figure 6.13:** Sponge decorated ceramics. earthenware teacup and saucer fragment.



**Figure 6.14:** Decorative glass tableware.  
a) crystal salt shaker with sterling silver top,  
b) base sherd of pressed glass vinegar cruet, c) star perforated shaker lid.

While the early half of this feature contains the peak numbers of nails, other metal, and flat glass, none of these are exceptionally high. Bottles peak in the later half of the feature but once again, not in substantial amounts.

Level 5 of FA1 contained the crystal and sterling silver salt shaker. This is the only piece of such quality recovered from the site. Though it is but one item, it does speak to some level of domestic elaboration in at least one, unidentified, household.

The upper half of this feature appears to have been used primarily as a disposal for other glass (flat) and bottles, as there is little else of note. Unfortunately, there is no dateable material from this feature. However, it is possible that it was in use early during the site's occupation and as such mirrors the activity we witnessed in the earliest one-third of FDA.

#### **6.1.2.4 Foundation E**

Foundation E is the second house depression to be analyzed for the purpose of this thesis and as with FDA, the inhabitants and dates of occupation are not confirmed. This feature was excavated to a depth of 45 cm through 5 levels, providing 1214 artifacts in total.

Of the artifacts excavated from this house depression, Ceramics numbered 316 (25.9% of feature total). Within the category of Ceramics, earthenware dominates with 274 sherds [86.7% of category total]; porcelain 25 [7.9%]; stoneware 6 [1.9%]; ironstone 5 [1.69%]; and unidentified sherds accounted 6 [1.9%].

Among the two other categories considered for analysis, Other Glass numbers 138 sherds (11.4% of feature total), and Bottles and Jars 219 (18%). Other artifacts recovered from this feature consisted of Nails 350 (28.8%); Other Metal 87 (7.2%); Metal Containers 43 (3.5%); Arms/Ammunition 25 (2.1%); Fastenings 4 (0.4%); and Miscellaneous artifacts 34 (2.8%).

The category of Other Glass is once again dominated by flat glass with 66 sherds [47.8% of category] of the total of 138 sherds; tableware accounts for 30 sherds [21.8%]; lighting devices 15 [10.9%]; unidentified sherds 27 [19.6%]. The Bottles and

Jars are in a fragmentary state and as such cannot be identified to a level which would lend itself to analysis for the purposes of this thesis. What is noteworthy in this feature is the increased presence of Arms and Ammunition in the form of cartridge cases.

Artifacts from the earliest level (5) in FDE are extremely few in number (12) and of these 5 are ceramics. Of particular interest is the earthenware rim sherd of a turquoise-on-white tea cup which matches the scalloped edged plates of the same colour. One sherd from a Porcelain doll was recovered and has been identified as part of the face and eye (Figure 6.6).

Through the middle three (2-4) levels there are rim and body sherds of the above mentioned turquoise-on-white earthenware representing a saucer and tea cup. Also from these same levels a substantial number of sherds of the brown-on-white "Cloverleaf" pattern were recovered. These sherds appear to be from a large dinner plate and include a maker's mark. This mark of "P.B.&S." is of the Powell, Bishop and Stonier Staffordshire Potteries, c. 1878-1891 (Figure 6.2 and 6.3)(Godden 1964:510). Unfortunately, I was unable to further identify the pattern which I refer to as "Cloverleaf". Beyond these two patterns the majority of the 316 ceramic sherds from this feature have unidentified decorative applications [148, 46.8% of category] and 61 [19.3%] are identified as being decorated with underglaze transfer prints.

Another earthenware maker's mark was recovered from these mid-levels that of "W.H. Grindley & Co.", of England (Figure 6.3) (Godden 1964:294). This mark is only partially reconstructed, therefore, the dates of manufacture are inconclusive.

Ironstone is represented in these middle layers by a partial maker's mark of "Stone Chinaware Co./ St. Johns, P.Q." (L2) (Figure 6.3) which represents the St. Johns Stone Chinaware Company c.1873-1899 (Collard 1967:36). The St. Johns Company operated at different times in St. Johns and Iberville, Quebec, and is of interest for several reasons, one being that St. Johns was the only Canadian manufacturer of "whiteware", ironstone and "white granite ware", and white tableware. Many of their items were indistinguishable in both quality and decoration from those produced in Staffordshire potteries. Of interest to this thesis is that the founder of the pottery, Moses

Farrar, was a prominent Methodist in eastern Canada. The Farrar family was well known for their generous financial support of Methodist causes (Collard 1967:270-275).

Porcelain makes a strong appearance in the later four levels (1-4) and, as in the earlier level, these sherds have been identified as the remains of at least one doll. Little can be said beyond this as no diagnostic indicators as to country and date of manufacture were recovered. Given the family history at Morleyville the representation of a doll on the site confirms the already recognized presence of a female child.

By the later levels, especially level 2, all categories with the exception of Metal Containers and Arms/Ammunition reach their peak. In the three top levels, ironstone and stoneware sherds are found but identifiable only to waretype. A dark-glazed red earthenware sherd is found in the final level but remains unidentifiable beyond waretype. The artifacts are dominated by Nails (186), Ceramics (108) Bottles (85), Other Glass (58) (flat glass = 47%) and Other Metal. 30.

At level 2, the increased deposition of ceramics, nails, bottles and flat glass may indicate some form of abandonment deposition. Even though the numbers of artifacts, other than Metal containers, then declines, this may indicate little more than initial position of discard deposits and the arbitrary application of excavation levels. The maker's marks from levels 2 and 3 date within the expected time frame of the later decades of the 1800s.

In the final level of this feature, Metal Containers are at their greatest representation (29), Arms/Ammunition are represented by 14 cartridge cases and all other artifact categories have declined in number.

Throughout the levels, an assortment of odds and ends were recovered: rubber and glass buttons, part of a harmonica, and a plastic bead. Quite possibly the every day detritus of a household. There is no one level which has a greater or lesser concentration of such miscellanea.

#### **6.1.2.5 Feature 5**

Feature 5 has been identified as a privy with an unknown house association. As

is befitting a privy feature, an eclectic grouping of artifacts were recovered. Of the features selected for analysis FT5 has the greatest percentage of the artifacts which have been identified and re-constructed .

Feature 5 was completely excavated to a depth of 125 cm, 15 levels and yielded 6035 artifacts of which the Ceramic category accounted for 286 (4.7% of feature total). Within the Ceramic category earthenware is the most prominent waretype with 144 sherds [50.3% of category total]; ironstone 117 [40.9%]; porcelain 16 [5.6%]; stoneware 6 [2.1%]; and red earthenware 3 [1.1%].

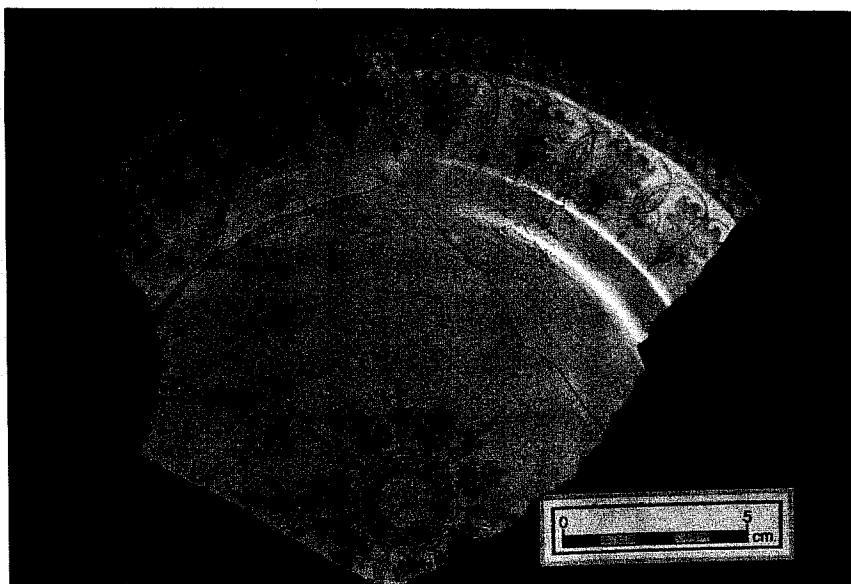
Other Glass is represented by 2750 sherds (45.6% feature total) and Bottles and Jars accounted for 552 (9.1%). Of the other artifacts from this feature, the category totals are as follows: Nails 1340 (22.2%); Other Metals 611 (10.1%); Metal Containers 280 (4.6%); Arms/Ammunition 10 (0.16%); Fastenings 14 (0.23%); And Miscellaneous accounted for 192 (3.2%).

The category of Other Glass can be further broken down into flat window glass 1680 [61.1% category total], lighting devices 912 [33.2%], tableware 51 [1.9%], and unidentified sherds 107 [3.9%]. As with previous features, the Bottles and Jars were recovered in a generally fragmentary state. Reconstruction has been done where time and sherds permitted and these cases will be discussed as applicable.

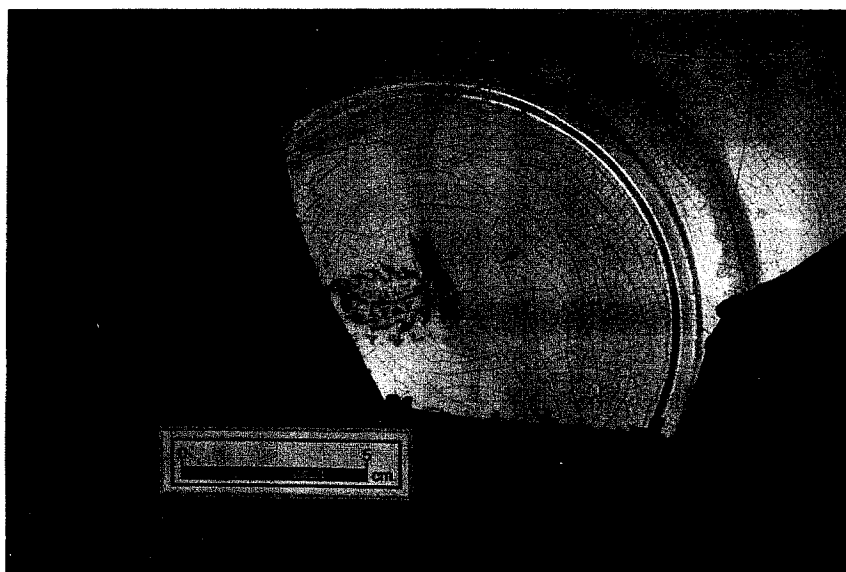
With the high numbers of flat glass and some ceramic materials yielded by this feature, it may be timely to recall LeeDecker's caution that the sheer numbers of sherds are much exaggerated relative to actual vessel counts.

In the earliest one-third (11-15) of the levels most categories exhibit a weak presence. The exceptions to this are the categories of Other Glass, especially the flat glass and lighting devices, and Nails as these two categories were recovered in large amounts in the latter portion of this section (L 11-12).

The earliest levels (11-15) have little in the way of ceramic sherds. Earthenware is represented by the rim and body sherds of a dinner plate decorated with blue and white transfer printed pattern. The reverse of these cross-mended sherds identifies the pattern as "Hollyleaf" (Figures 6.15 and 6.16) though the maker's mark "T & L" has



**Figure 6.15:** “Hollyleaf” blue-on-white rim and body sherd.



**Figure 6.16:** Reverse and maker’s mark (T&L) of above.

not been identified. An earthenware sherd bearing the blue-on-white maker's mark "Patras/C.E. & M." (Figure 6.4) was also found in these earlier levels. "Patras", the name of a small Greek city, was likely the pattern name. The manufacturer has been identified as Cork, Edge and Malkin an English company which produced "Stonechina" c. 1860 to 1871. Observable above the maker's mark is an inverted "S" which may indicate an 1864 manufacture date (Dean n.d.: 289-307). A partial bowl and stem of an white, undecorated earthenware pipe was found in the earliest levels. Several sherds of a rather coarse mustard coloured glazed earthenware were recovered from these levels.

The ironstone from these levels is in the form of a partial rim and body sherd of a white undecorated tea cup and base sherds from a large undecorated blue-hued ironstone ewer (Figure 6.17). A bisque-finish doll's leg with a painted boot is the only representation of porcelain in the early levels (Figure 6.6).

Of primary interest in the Other Glass category from the lower levels are the sherds which when reconstructed gave shape to a delightful embossed clear, colourless glass lid. The top knob of this piece is an acorn (Figure 6.7). No identification could be made regarding manufacture or date. This lower third yielded one of the few complete items, a clear, colourless glass bird-cage feeder. Bottles and Jars are primarily represented by the turquoise transparent sherds of a faceted condiment bottle. Found in these levels was a small intact bottle of "Turlington's Balsam" with the reverse "The King's Patent".

In these lower levels, Other Metal items are the outstanding presence, though not in extremis and it is in level 11 that the number of nails (level 12, N=36; level 11, N=170) and glass from lamp chimneys takes a dramatic leap in numbers (level 12, N=18; level 11, N=225). While flat window glass started to increase in numbers in level 13 (N=113 sherds; level 12, N=428 sherds), actual numbers climb sharply at level 11 (N=535 sherds).

As FT5 is a privy feature, it is quite likely that the sudden increase in deposits of the above material coincided with several possible activities such as seasonal clean-up, building demolition or in the case of the lamp chimney glass, an accident. It would



appear in these initial levels that the privy was being used for its intended purpose, as well as some additional disposal.

In the middle one-third (levels 6-10) both Nails and Metal Containers increase very sharply in level 8 (Nails: level 9, N= 98; level 8, N=150; Metal containers: level 9, N=1; level 8, N=169) followed by equally sharp declines in later levels. Other Metal follows suit in level 7, also declining sharply in the following level. Among the Metal Containers in level 6 are several large items: the base and carousel of a zinc (?) condiment stand or "dinner castor" (Israel 1993:447); a large metal (tin?) coffee pot and cup; a smaller metal coffee pot; and a metal tea pot complete with spout. This increase in nails and metal containers may once again indicate a seasonal clean-up. Some confirmation of this may have been possible through soil sample analysis and detection of seasonal plant indicators. The presence of the large coffee and tea pot may support the contention that the mission households were feeding large groupings, beyond immediate family.

Ceramics start a somewhat staggered, but nonetheless definite, increase in their representation in the middle levels. Earthenware is represented by a rim sherd of a sponge decorated saucer of the same pattern found elsewhere in this feature. The brown-on-white "Cloverleaf" pattern is represented by one rim sherd. Of interest are two rim sherds of the Spode/Copeland pattern "Ruins" c. 1848 to 20<sup>th</sup> century (Figure 6.18). Vessels of this pattern were also recovered from Fort Victoria, the previous mission home of the McDougalls (Sussman 1979:186). This may be a case of specific items having been curated through the years and finally succumbing to usage and breakage.

Sherds from an ironstone tea cup, which cross-mend to those from the lower levels, were found in the mid-levels. There are a substantial number of porcelain sherds in the middle levels, generally, in the form of doll body parts. Unlike the bisque-finish leg from level 11, these pieces include a glazed hand and leg, with garter and painted boot (Figure 6.6), and one bisque-finished piece with molded hair. Therefore, it appears that at least two dolls are represented by these deposits.

In the Other Glass category sherds of flat window glass, lighting devices and

glass tableware are almost a negligible presence in the mid-levels. The exception to this are the clear, colourless pressed glass sherds (a cross-hatched heart pattern) of what appears to be part of a small lid of an unknown vessel (Figure 6.7). The category of Bottles and Jars is represented by the sherds of a transparent pale green bottle/jar which has been reconstructed. This mold produced jar has been identified as a pickle jar manufactured c.1875-1890 (Figure 6.18) (Wilson 1981:89).

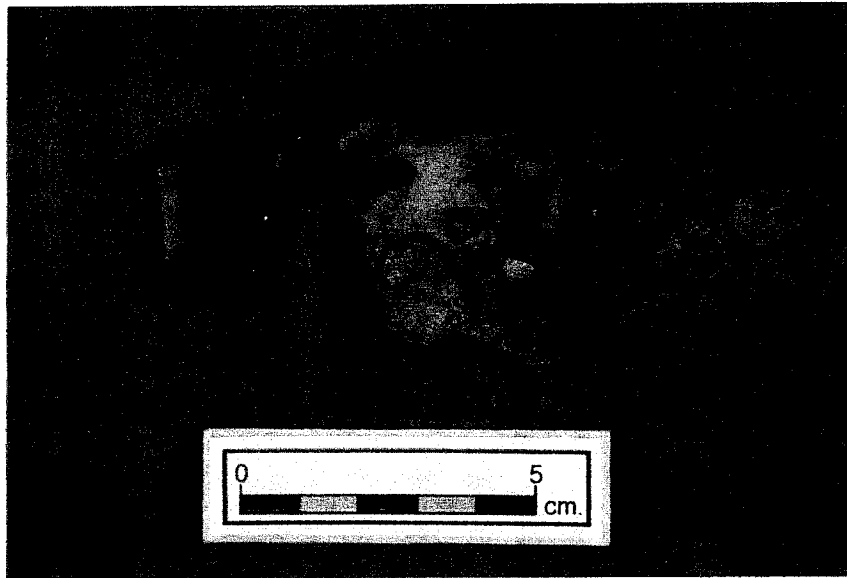
In the uppermost third (levels 1-5) of this feature, Nails and Other Metal remain a steady presence, while Metal Containers all but disappear from the artifact counts. Among the identifiable sherds in the Bottles and Jars are the top rim threads of a pale green sealer jar. Also retrieved from this feature, but from a slumped area, are the sherds of an olive green pickle/condiment jar which has been partially reconstructed (Figure 6.19). No date was identified.

Feature 5 was especially rich in the category of Other Glass in these later deposits. One item which has been re-constructed is the clear, colourless pressed glass lid (cross-hatched heart pattern) for an unidentified vessel, sherds of at least one other similar item were also found in these and earlier levels (Figure 6.7). A large base and side sherd, with a similar pattern, was found in these levels; its shape and contemporary comparison would suggest that it is a vinegar cruet (Figure 6.14).

Ceramics have a strong showing in the upper one-third, predominantly in level 2. Throughout these levels were found the sherds of an earthenware Brown-Betty-style teapot lid with what resembles an appropriate (for the mission household) "Madonna"-like top knob. Several more sherds of the coarse mustard-coloured earthenware are found in these levels and were reconstructed to form sections of a large oval bowl which appears utilitarian in nature. Also representative of earthenware are the partial rim and body sherds of a sponge decorated tea cup (Figure 6.13) which corresponds to the saucer discussed earlier.

Porcelain is represented by several sherds. These have been tentatively identified as the partial bowl and base of a plain white, matte-finish egg cup while the other is what appears to be the lid of a toy teapot, glazed white with a fine gold band at the rim.





The sharp increase in ceramic sherds found in level 2 (level 3, N=15) is accounted for by 80 blue-hued sherds, cross-mended to the base sherds in level 10, to form the partially reconstructed ewer (Figure 6.17). Ironstone is also well represented in the form of wheat pattern rim and base sherds from at least one dinner plate and saucer (Figure 6.5). These sherds cross-mend with those from previous levels (L 9 and 10). A large sherd from a white undecorated wash basin is also present in these upper levels. One ironstone maker's mark was found and subsequently identified as J. & G. Meakin, Hanley, England c.1890 (Godden 1964:427).

Stoneware in Feature 5 is represented by one of the rare complete pieces. This is a small, salt-glazed storage jar bearing the claim "Guaranteed not to Absorb".

The majority of the Arms and Ammunition (cartridges) were recovered from these later levels. Fastenings made a sporadic appearance in all thirds of this feature.

Throughout this feature at irregular intervals, there is an interesting array of miscellanea in the form of fabric scraps, tentatively identified as silk, plain white shirt-style buttons, glass beads, leather footwear, pencil lead and a pocket knife with a mother-of-pearl handle.

The maker's marks found in this feature (1848-1900s and 1890) date this feature to within the expected range of the late 1800s. Generally the type of materials deposited in FT5 are what could be expected from a privy deposit. The periodic sharp increases may have several possible causes, but none can be confirmed.

#### 6.1.2.6 Garbage Dump

This feature is the only dump site that has been located at the Mission site. GD1 was excavated to a depth of 90 cm, through 10 levels, and produced an overall total of 3917 artifacts. Of this overall total, 97 artifacts were Ceramic (2.5% of feature total). earthenware is the predominating waretype with 58 [59.8% category total], followed by ironstone 20 [20.6%], porcelain 15 [15.5%], and stoneware 3 [3.1%].

Other categories under analysis consisted of 310 artifacts in the categories of Other Glass (7.9% feature total) and Bottles and Jars 126 (3.2%). The remainder of

categories retrieved from this feature included Nails 463 (11.28% feature total); Other Metal 857 (21.9%); Metal Containers were by far the largest category with 2013 (51.4%); Arms/Ammunition 0; Fastenings 1 (.03%); and Miscellaneous 50 (13%).

In the category of Other Glass, tableware accounts for 28 sherds [8.4% of category], while the majority of this category is still represented by flat window glass with 115 [37.1%], lighting devices 127 [41%] and four unidentified. Bottles and Jars in this feature are represented by a number of intact or nearly complete bottles.

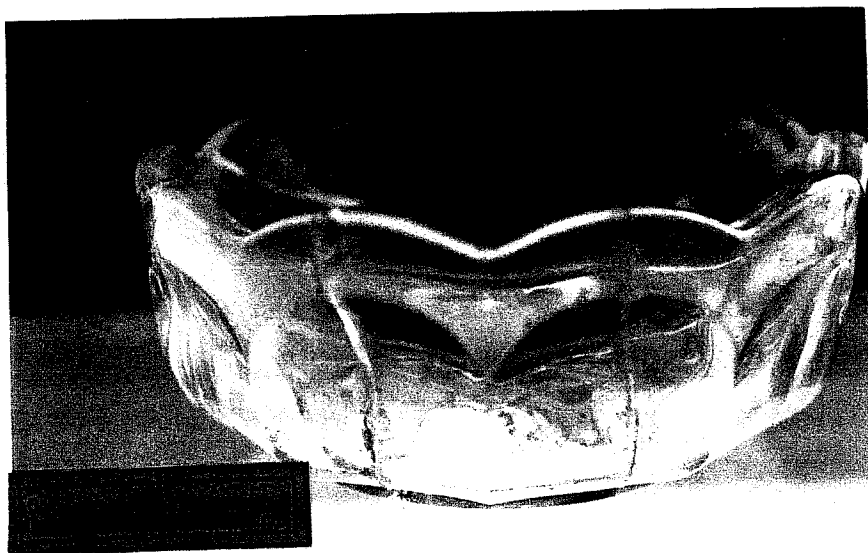
The earliest levels (9-10) of this feature contain relatively few artifacts with the exception of Metal Containers of which there are a total of 119 in levels 9 and 10 (49% of the artifacts from these levels). In both levels, Nails are very low in representation; in level 9 is a large, oval, cast-iron griddle. Ceramics are almost negligible as are Bottles and Jars and Other Glass.

In levels 6-8, Other Metals increase dramatically and one noteworthy artifact is a large blue granite ware kettle. While Metal Containers double their numbers from level nine and Nails increase only slightly. It is in these same levels where Ceramics reach their highest number (17), Bottles and Jars maintain a moderate presence and Other Glass is represented strongly and equally by flat window glass and lighting devices, while the sherds from one vessel are representative of table ware.

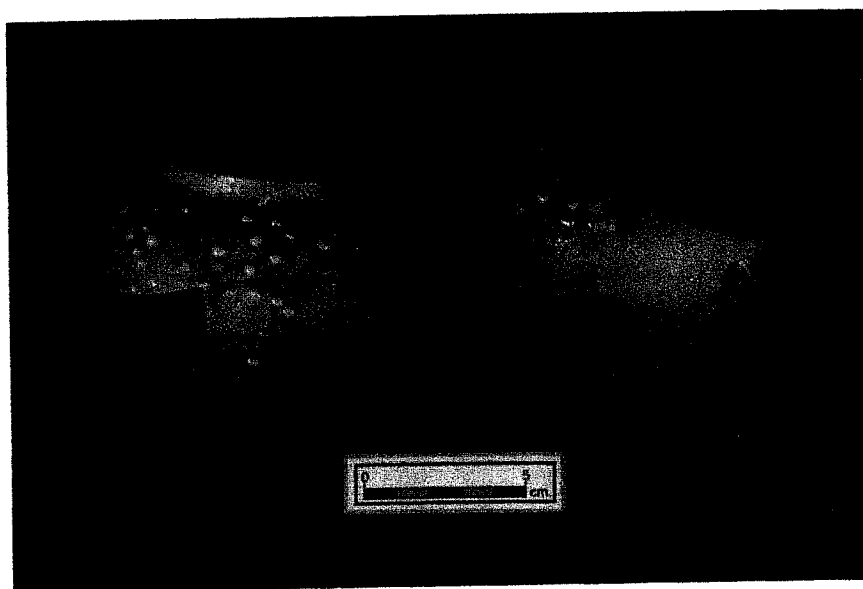
Ceramics are dominated by earthenware, but these sherds are identifiable only to waretype. Porcelain is represented by rim and body sherds of a minimum of two white bodied fruit nappies decorated with a transfer printed pink rose garland circling the inner rim. The ironstone and stoneware sherds were not identifiable beyond waretype.

Also found in these lower mid-levels are the 20+ sherds reconstructed and identified as a large, heavy, colourless clear glass serving bowl under the category of Other Glass (tableware) (Figure 6.20). Bottles and Jars are well represented by several complete bottles and bases: "Slocum's Coltsfoot Expectorant" (complete, undated); "Hudson's Bay Company Incorporated 1670" (complete, undated); "Davis Vegetable Painkiller" (complete, c.1851-90); and an amethyst-coloured glass base of a canning jar.

When the artifacts were originally catalogued, it appears that a large number of



**Figure 6.20:** Large, clear pressed glass serving bowl (reconstructed).



**Figure 6.21:** Sherds of oriental-style porcelain bowl.

seam and lid fragments from tin cans were included in Other Metal. This may explain the very large numbers which correspond to equally high counts for Metal Containers in these levels.

In levels 4 and 5, Metal Containers continue to increase in numbers and Nails increase almost five fold in level 4 (222 from the previous level N= 43), while Other Metals decline sharply from the previous levels.

Ceramics drop off slightly as does Other Glass, with Bottles and Jars increasing sharply over the preceding levels. Porcelain is well represented in these levels by sherds of a unique vessel. It appears to be oriental in manufacture and method of design, and had been manufactured to accommodate a lid (Figure 6.21). The body is gray in colour and the glazed finish of light brown appears stippled with the decorative effects of melted glass applied in a green and white floral motif. Little else is known about this item. Earthenware and ironstone are represented only by sherds identified to waretype.

In the upper-most levels (1-3), Ceramics remain stable in numbers, Other Glass, specifically flat glass, rises sharply towards the top-most level, and Bottles and Jars mirror this increase though not as dramatically, but the highest counts in this category for FT5 are in level 1 (41). Metal Containers decrease in numbers from the high in level 4 (948) to only 3 in these upper levels, while Nails and Other Metals also decrease in number but maintain a solid representation.

Porcelain sherds of the oriental-style vessel (levels 4-5) and the rose garland fruit nappies appear in the later levels (1-3) of this feature. As well, a large earthenware base and body sherd representing a dinner plate decorated with a dark green floral transfer print are present. The back of the sherd bears the maker's mark "Alton/England". Rather than Alton being the manufacturer, in this instance it is representative of the pattern as manufactured by W.H. Grindley of England c. 1891 (Figure 6.4) (Husfloen 1997:103).

The mixed deposits of GD1 are in keeping with what would be expected in a dump site. The high incidence of Metal Containers (i.e. cans) and can fragments being included in the category of Other Metals may explain why the former had generally low



representation.

The low incidence of other categories was unexpected and unexplainable. As a refuse deposit, this would normally be the principal repository for garbage, except perhaps seasonally, or during inclement weather, when the privy was a closer alternative. The dates obtained from ceramics and bottles correlate with the dates of the other features, that of the late 1800s.

### **6.1.3 *Summary of Artifact Analysis and Discussion***

The inherently fragmentary state of the majority of artifacts from the excavated features does inhibit the analysis of this site. While an overall small number of artifacts have been reconstructed (45 vessels), the majority, especially ceramics and glass, shall remain as little more than bags of sherds identified only to material or waretype. However, developing an image of the mission's domestic life and some general activities was still possible.

There appear to be at least two types of refuse represented in the deposits: refuse from daily activities and materials representing either a general or seasonal clean-up or abandonment and post-abandonment deposition. The first scenario is represented by the three privy deposits and the array of items recovered from them. These generally included household materials and smaller items requiring small clean-ups and disposal (e.g. broken ceramics, lamp chimneys). This range of material is also found in the early and mid-levels of the house depressions FDA and FDE.

The other form of depositional activity, clean-up or abandonment, at the site is confined to GD1 and the upper levels of the house depressions. This activity is illustrated by the large numbers of architectural glass, nails, metal containers, and other metal evident in these features. Virtually all features contain small amounts of glass and ceramics which have been exposed to fire. It is possible some of these excavated materials were first burned with general household refuse (e.g. paper, food scraps) and then the remnants from this activity deposited in the features from which they were recovered.

The extremely fragmentary nature of the ceramics and glass has hampered the analysis of the material. Much of the identification of these categories has been limited to identification of waretype, and reconstruction wherever possible has supplemented interpretation.

The expectations as expressed earlier in this chapter have, for the most part, been realized. It was expected that the features, specifically FDA and FDE, would display patterns relative to household evolution. Progressing from the early to later levels there is a gradual shift in the waretype and materials represented. Matching ceramic transfer print dinner pieces occur slightly earlier than I had expected but reach their zenith in the mid-levels of these features. The presence of finer, more expensive and matching porcelain pieces (fruit nappies) increases in representation through the levels. The larger matched dining sets are of earthenware rather than porcelain and occur much earlier than expected. Transfer prints were relatively evenly distributed throughout the features and remained strong in their representation throughout.

In keeping with the above expectation is an increase in the presence of decorative glass table ware. This occurs in the later sections of all features from the site and often the items appear to represent matched pattern sets.

Distinctive bottles representative of specific foodstuffs both of home production (canning) or commercial origin are present. Both of these occurrences were expected; however, I had anticipated greater numbers, which may have originally been the case but we are left with only their fragmented, unidentified remains. Bottles representative of alcoholic beverages and patent medicines were found to be present. Of alcohol bottles there were only three shoulder/neck/finishes and one base recovered which may indicate a minimum number of three bottles. The recovered number of patent medicine bottles and finishes in no way exhibits extreme consumption of these products during the period of occupation at the mission. Once again, given the extremely fragmented nature of the overall assemblage it is not possible to strongly support nor deny these statements, one must judge by the evidence available.

In applying the above findings to the lives of women at Morleyville and the

related domestic sphere the possibility of several types of behaviours are manifested. The recovery of a variety of porcelain and earthenware tea cups and saucers may indicate the ritualization of the tea service. Conversely, these items may simply have been carefully curated over the years and used for special occasions or merely kept as keepsakes.

The Methodist church encouraged women to set an example for the world of a good Christian home. The church's tenets regarding the domestic sphere were a match for the middle class Victorian elaboration of the domestic sphere. One indicator of this Victorian elaboration was the increasing use of matched tablewares. At Morleyville there is evidence that the mission's women were making an effort to comply with this doctrine. Two very obvious examples of these efforts of presentation are represented by the sherds of the two patterns: the one I refer to as "Cloverleaf" and the turquoise-on-white scallop-edged vessels. Less obvious, but perhaps with the same goal in mind was the use of various styles of relief molded "wheat" patterned vessels. "Wheat" was a rather ubiquitous pattern in early settlements and the presence of several variations of the pattern may indicate that the women were attempting to at least put forth the effort of presenting a matched dinner setting as prescribed by the Victorian middle class edict. In a similar manner, the rose garland decorated porcelain fruit nappies may have been set alongside other vessels decorated with variations of a rose theme, but represented in the assemblage only by sherds and not identifiable vessels (Adams 1977:60). As well in the latter two examples, as vessels from a matched set were broken they may have been replaced by a reasonable facsimile. The recurring pattern among pressed glass vessels, the cross-hatched heart pattern, may have been a miscellaneous grouping of items tied together by their similar motifs.

The frontier women were placed in a position of adhering, as much as was possible given their circumstances, to codes of behaviour and presentation set out by groups far removed from the frontier reality. Women such as the McDougalls had been raised within the Victorian milieu and likely knew from an early age what the proper and expected procedures were. However, given the isolation and probable difficulty in

replacing items, they were resigned to doing the best they could with what they had.

## **Chapter 7**

### **INTRASITE AND INTERSITE COMPARISON AND DISCUSSIONS**

**"These fragments I have shored against my ruins"**  
(T.S. Eliot)

In doing archaeological research the use of a comparative collection is an acceptable means of establishing and verifying activities which we see reflected in the archaeological record. The intrasite comparison is an opportunity to pull together the overall findings of the site and examine the relationships between features and the activities we observe or believe took place. Intersite comparisons often are beneficial in supplying corroborating material evidence which may shed new light on, or conversely discount, our interpretations. However, finding appropriate sites for such a comparison is not always an easy task, as has been the case with the Morleyville Mission site.

#### **7.1 Intrasite Comparison and Discussion**

As discussed earlier in this thesis the presence or absence of matched ceramic pieces can be used as an indicator of domestic elaboration within a household. Additionally, ceramic waretypes and their relative value can provide some corresponding connotation. For the purpose of this thesis, the primary use of the Ceramic category has been supplemented with the category of Other Glass, and to a lesser extent Bottles and Jars, to illustrate this point.

This site has presented several obstacles within the analysis process. Perhaps the most obvious has been the extremely fragmented state of artifacts as alluded to in other chapters. Within the constraints of time and resources, this challenge has been

surmounted through reconstruction and/or identification of items. The value of reconstruction cannot be over-emphasized, for to leave the sherds "as is" would provide a researcher with little more than a mound of sherds identifiable only to waretype. Reconstruction not only gives form to the vessels but supplies additional information regarding domestic practices.

The formulation of a chronology for the mission site was attempted unsuccessfully due to the depositional processes. The depositional processes at the site precluded the use of anything but arbitrary stratigraphic levels. Therefore, correlations within the site shall generally rely on the correlation of artifacts (e.g. cross-mends) and cross-dating.

As a house depression, FDA is believed to have been associated with the privies FA1 and FA2. FDA and FA1 were both found to contain sherds from two sets of ceramics, "Cloverleaf" and the turquoise-on-white scallop-edged set. Additionally, FDA contained bowl sherds of a red-bodied earthenware pipe which cross-mended to sherds recovered from FA2. These instances support the alleged association of the features though no time frame has been established. Also found in FA2 was a crystal salt shaker with a sterling silver lid. This is a fine piece of tableware and in all likelihood may have originated, and graced a dining table, in FDA. Beyond these specific examples few correlations are possible due to the generality of the sherd waretypes and many which remain unidentified beyond waretype.

The two patterns discussed above were also found in the house depression FDE. Though the same patterns were found in both house depressions, contemporaneous occupation cannot be claimed, nor discounted. If this presence is not representative of contemporaneous occupation a case might then be made for the transfer of occupants, and their belongings, from one house to new quarters. Conversely, if contemporaneous occupation could be substantiated these ceramics might then be representative of the wares available through retail sources accessible to all of the mission households. The same argument may be made for the pressed glass, cross-hatched heart patterned tablewares which occur in several features.

A sponge decorated tea cup and saucer were recovered from FA1 and fragments of another matching tea cup came from FT5. This pattern was not found in either of the house depressions but it can be surmised that vessels of this pattern were in use in the mission households. Once again, exactly which households cannot be confirmed.

Sherds of the porcelain fruit nappies decorated with transfer printed pink rose garlands were found in both FDA and GD1. On the surface, this may appear to represent a case for contemporaneity between the two features. However, it must be pointed out that in FDA these sherds, and those of several other porcelain tea wares, were found in the top one-third of the deposits. It was these top levels of FDA which I suspect were related to post-abandonment deposition and therefore caution must be exercised when forming conclusions.

The ironstone and stoneware found in virtually all features are, for the most part, identified only to waretype and not as individual items. For this reason, it is generally not possible to draw any correlations between features based on the presence of these waretypes. The outstanding presence of ironstone in FT5 can be attributed to the almost completely reconstructed ewer. Which household the ewer originated in cannot be established. Also found in FT5 were the earthenware sherds of a partially constructed yellow glazed oval bowl. One cross-mended sherd of this vessel was also recovered from FDG which sits in relative proximity to FT5. Unfortunately, though, one sherd makes for a tenuous association at best.

In all features, transfer prints are the most prevalent decorative method followed by relief molding and hand painting. The ceramics from the mission site are found in the extreme ranges of plain white to an array of colours and patterns. The ceramic assemblage from the mission represents a minimum of 36 mostly unidentified patterns and likely many more which due to sherd size remain indiscernible. Given the time span of the mission's occupation and the popularity of blue-on-white transfer prints during the later decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, I had expected to see far more of such patterns than were recovered.

Also of interest in regards to ceramics from the site is the rarity of

Spode/Copeland sherds. The only identified Spode-Copeland pattern (Ruins) was also found at Fort Victoria and this may have been a case of dishes having been brought to Morleyville from a previous home. As well, Spode/Copeland ceramics are accepted as standard at HBC trading post stores. Though sources of supply for Morleyville have been speculated on but not confirmed, the low numbers of Spode/Copeland sherds at Morleyville may indicate that the mission's residents were accessing suppliers other than the HBC.

Though I have determined that at least two matched sets were in use on the site, the sheer number of assorted patterns appears to indicate that the households used a hodge-podge of vessels. These may have arrived on the site by virtue of several routes: from previous homes and therefore other supply sources; donations of goods from various parishes; purchases made while away from the mission (e.g. Eastern Canada); items received as gifts; and curated items.

Bottles and jars were also found in a generally fragmented state, and most remain unidentified. The recovery from several features of sherds of preserving/canning jars and those from prepared foods fits well within expectations. However, the low number of bottles from alcoholic beverages and patent medicines recovered was surprising, even on a temperance mission site. Though such goods are not completely absent from the site, their presence is minuscule.

#### **7.1.1 *Intrasite Summary***

The upper levels of the two house depressions appear to exhibit post-abandonment deposition, consisting largely of architectural debris, metal containers and other metal. Other features exhibit patterns of deposition which may indicate seasonal or sporadic deposition. The site's depositional history had made intrasite comparisons possible only on a general level.

Though no precise correlations can be drawn between the features at the mission site it is possible to state that they were in active use during the same approximate time



frame. Within the artifact assemblages, there is a limited degree of homogeneity among the goods recovered from all features. Though not all features held identical materials, there appears to be a consistency in the standard of goods, waretypes, and decorative methods. The presence of two distinct ceramic tableware patterns is consistent with my expectations.

## **7.2 Intersite Comparison and Discussion**

Ideally, sites best suited for comparisons are those which share a consistency in several areas such as time frame, location, purpose, and inhabitants. For the purpose of this thesis I was seeking other projects which exhibited a similar time frame (later 1800s), were relatively rural and isolated with fair level of self-sufficiency, inhabited by domestic families and with a religious focus. Since this is not a perfect world, it is acceptable to apply a comparison of sites which have some of the above elements consistent with the Morleyville Mission. To this end, three sites fell within general parameters: Willamette Methodist Mission, Oregon, occupied from 1834 to 1841; Fort Victoria (Victoria Post), Alberta, occupied 1864 to 1897; and the Cochrane Rancho, Alberta, occupied 1881 to 1888.

### **7.2.1 *The Willamette Methodist Mission* (or Jason Lee Mission) (1834-1841)**

The Willamette Mission sits on wide alluvial plain at the confluence of the Willamette and Columbia Rivers in the Willamette Valley, north of Salem, Oregon. This site was chosen for its proximity to major water routes and for its central location among native Kalupa populations. By virtue of its location, the mission had access to rich agricultural soils already being farmed by French Canadian families (Sanders et al 1983:17).

The first structure on the site was an oak timbered house, built in 1834, with two internal apartments. This structure was used as living quarters, a school and chapel. The following year a log barn was erected and the house was enlarged to accommodate

the Kalupa children attending as students. This addition was used as a schoolroom, kitchen and dining room. By 1873 a physician, blacksmith, carpenter and their families, along with three teachers were part of the settlement. These individuals arrived by ship from Ft. Vancouver via the Horn, accompanied by their personal affects and donated goods from the eastern U.S. To accommodate the growing settlement, several new houses, a blacksmith shop and a wheelwright's house and shop were constructed (Sanders et al 1983:22-25). Between 1838 and 1849 several other houses were constructed along with a hospital which served both settlers and native people. At some point during these years a mission store was established which stocked items from the HBC at Ft. Vancouver, eastern U.S. markets, a store from lower down the Willamette Valley, as well as goods traded with the French Canadians and the native people and donations from eastern parishes (Brunell 1967 in Sanders et al 1983; Sanders et al 1983:29).

The Willamette project was initiated in 1980, with a total of 190 m<sup>2</sup> being excavated and 9541 artifacts recovered, of which the largest category was ceramics. The artifacts were categorized according to functional classification and coupled with the distributional data the analysis focused on outlining activity areas and architectural detail. The project also hoped to establish a comparative tool to enhance the early historic period in the Northwest (Sanders et al 1983:4-5).

In applying this site as a comparison with Morleyville, the parallels are twofold: the Methodist base and Judith Sanders et al's (1983) conclusion that the mission's occupants had set about to establish a lifestyle similar to that enjoyed in their previous home in the eastern United States. Additionally, the Willamette site was one of the few early historic settlements in the Northwest occupied by Americans versus Europeans. (Sanders et al 1983:256-7).

The excavations concentrated on the main mission house complex and were executed in units of 2 X 2 m and arbitrary 10 cm levels. No privies, cellars or garbage dumps were located at the site. Recovered artifacts were classified using Sprague's 1980-81 "pragmatic functional classification scheme" with the goal that such a scheme

would aid in reconstructing the cultural setting of the Mission (Sanders et al 1983:50).

This mission site predates Morleyville by 40+ years and is located in the Pacific Northwest. However, in its favour in terms of this intersite comparison, the settlement had an onsite store and was based on families, farming and the church.

The Willamette project yielded 9541 artifacts and the investigators resolved that the bulk of the assemblage was the result of abandonment activity. The ceramic collection (2102 sherds) is dominated by earthenware at 90.7% of ceramic category (1906 sherds), while stoneware (utilitarian earthenware) is represented by 1.80% (35 sherds), porcelain is present in small numbers 0.25% (5 fragments), ironstone was not designated as a specific category.

Of the ceramic patterns which could be identified, several were sourced to Fort Vancouver and were of English manufacture. Other patterns, noticeably absent from Ft. Vancouver, have left open the question of ceramic sources for the Mission. Transfer printed earthenware was identified as the predominant decorative method of the recovered sherds.

Being Methodist, the mission was also temperance, and there is a significant lack of glass identified as alcohol containers. The Willamette assemblage contained little in the way of what could be identified as decorative glass tableware and did not contain a category equivalent to Morleyville's "Other Glass".

The conclusion of the investigation was that only generalized statements of behaviour were possible given the data recovered. However, Judith Sanders et al (1983:257) stated their firm belief that the missionaries were concerned with establishing a lifestyle not unlike the one they had left behind in the east. Sanders et al (1983) base this statement on the their belief that the materials recovered at the mission site "do not reflect the intention of a temporary sojourn in the Oregon wilderness." Rather, that these Methodist pioneers fully intended to make a proper life in the northwest.

### **7.2.2 Fort Victoria (Victoria Post) (now Pakan) (1863-1897/8)**

Though this site slightly predates Morleyville Mission, it is significant for its ties with early Methodism in Alberta and was a home for the McDougall family (1862/3-1871) prior to Morleyville. The Methodists were breaking into new territory on the frontier. As Michael Forsman (1985:4) states "there is no evidence that the area was occupied by any other Euro-Canadian, mixed-blood, or native peoples" prior to the establishment of the mission. Soon after the arrival of the McDougalls, the settlement, which had been a tent camp, consisted of a log house, storehouse, church, stables and outbuildings. It was the Methodists who first settled at this location and the HBC followed in 1864.

The excavations at Fort Victoria 1977-78 concentrated on the HBC Clerk's and Men's Houses and associated privies and refuse deposits. The purpose of the investigations was to reveal the characteristics of society at Fort Victoria (Forsman 1985:16-21). Though this project does not focus specifically on the Methodist mission site, the time frame and objectives still serve as a nice complement to my research objectives.

During the course of the archaeological excavations at Fort Victoria, the upper disturbed matrix was removed with a front-end loader. Approximately 1,000 m<sup>2</sup> was excavated to a mean depth of 30 cm in this manner. Further mechanical means were employed to expose and delineate the subsurface features at which time excavation proceeded by hand (Forsman 1983).

The artifact assemblage was divided into several functional divisions including Dining and Dietary Patterns and Household Furnishings, Architectural and Residential feature relationships, Firearms, Clothing, Personal Use artifacts, Tobacco pipes, and Miscellaneous artifacts (Forsman 1985:73).

Within the Dining and Dietary Patterns group, the cultural material was referred to as "Kitchen Group" artifacts (Forsman 1985:81). Of the ceramics recovered, blue-on-white transfer printed earthenwares were the most common of the ceramics (Forsman 1985:81). Transfer printing was the most common decorative form recovered. Numerous patterns have been identified as products of Spode/Copeland, a

HBC staple, (Sussman 1979 in Forsman 1985:81) and sherds bearing the flow blue pattern "Ruins" recovered at Victoria Post were also present at Morleyville. Though several other patterns were identified, Forsman (1985) does not state whether these constitute sets.

Ceramics decorated with other colours were present as were plain white earthenwares, and plain and relief molded white ironstone (Forsman 1985:86). Sponge decorated vessels (earthenware) are present though primarily limited to cups and saucers.

Glass tableware is poorly represented and alcohol use could not be confirmed due to the fragmentary and inconclusive remains recovered. However, the Clerk's house did contain a greater representation of glassware than the Men's house (Forsman 1985:92).

In summary, Michael Forsman (1985:87, 143) states that while any conclusions made are tenuous, the ceramic assemblage does support specific assertions. He concludes that ceramic tableware data support the contention that the Clerk's household possessed an assemblage superior in quality and of greater diversity than that of the Men's house. In all likelihood the Clerk would have been better prepared to set a more elaborate dining table judging by the vessel types recovered and their decorative styles. Forsman supports this claim based upon the absence of equivalent goods from the Men's house (Forsman 1985:144).

These differences are perhaps explained by the HBC hierarchy which would relate to social status, income, availability of goods and ethnicity (Forsman 1985:146-7).

### **7.2.3 *The Cochrane Ranche* (1881-1888)**

The significance of the Cochrane Ranche lies in its ranking as the first major historic ranching site to be excavated in Alberta. This project was undertaken in 1977 under the auspices of the Archaeological Survey of Alberta and supervised by Roderick Heitzmann. The archeological excavations involved the ranch manager's house, the

bunkhouse and a well feature.

The purpose of the project was to enhance current knowledge of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century ranching culture of Alberta. Of interest to my research is the contemporaneous occupation of Morleyville and the ranch. As well, the Morleyville Settlement lands and the Stoney Indian Reserve shared their eastern boundaries with the Cochrane Ranche.

Roderick Heitzmann (1980:6) states that the owners and managers of large holdings, such as the Cochrane Ranche, were most often well educated and "of good family" from the east. These men and their families were considered to be of the middle-class and supportive of the "English country estate ethos" (Breen 1976:153 in Heitzmann 1980:6). Conversely, the cowboys and ranch hands were for the most part poorly educated itinerant workers. It was the recognition and interpretation gained from the archaeological investigations which gave further credence to the allegation of class distinctions long suspected by virtue of historical documents. It is this examination of class and the accompanying domestic elaboration as manifested in the archeological record, which is the basis of the comparisons made between the ranch and Morleyville.

The two house features yielded a total of 11,164 artifacts. Artifacts were catalogued according to functional categories. Of the total, Kitchenwares (ceramics and glass) constituted 44.2% (4085 artifacts) for the Manager's residence and 46% (878 artifacts) for the bunkhouse. Heitzmann leaves the exact breakdown of these two classifications as rather inconclusive, for while he states that ceramics were a "large class" he only mentions in the text the 20 complete vessels found in the bunkhouse and 46 in the Manager's house (1980:27,40).

At the Cochrane Ranche, there were two distinct groups of decorated ceramic wares. Of the first, a blue-on-white transfer printed earthenware, 77.5% of the sherds were recovered from the manager's residence. The second was a brown-on-white transfer printed earthenware and 75% of these sherds were recovered from the bunk house. Plain white wares were evenly distributed between the two residences (Heitzmann 1980:57). It was determined that only "sets" of ceramics were confined to the Manager's residence (Heitzmann 1980:59). Heitzmann believes that the

distribution of the various decorative techniques on ceramics is indicative of cultural differences between the two residences (1980:58).

Several of the ceramic makers' marks and two of the wheat patterns recovered from the Ranche site are identical to ones from Morleyville. These include ironstone produced by "Robert Cochrane & Co.", "W.E.Corn", "J. & G. Meakin", and "St. Johns Chinaware, PQ". The wheat patterns are those manufactured by "Robert Cochrane & Co" (Ceres pattern) and "W.E.Corn". These makers' marks may indicate that the Cochrane Ranche and the Morleyville Mission were accessing the same supply sources.

Glass tableware was recovered in several forms: three stemmed glasses (1 from each feature); serving trays (2 in the Manager's residence and 1 in bunkhouse); lids from cooking or coffee pots (bunkhouse and well); and a liquor decanter (well).

The bottles recovered do speak to a more elaborate lifestyle in the manager's residence as almost 50% of those recovered had contained liquor or wine. In the bunkhouse, only 11.5% of the bottles were of the liquor/wine type, the majority being from beer or soft drinks.

In summary, Heitzmann concludes that as ceramic "sets" were only found in the manager's residence that this must be indicative of cultural differences. The ranch managers were considered to be "middle-class" and as such more inclined toward elaboration in the domestic sphere. Heitzman believes that this is manifested in the ceramic and glassware assemblages.

#### ***7.2.4 Intersite Discussion and Summary***

Though the specific objectives of each project may vary, they do share the commonality of focusing on some aspect of the social culture and lifestyle of the inhabitants. At all three sites it is implied that families, and therefore women, were present during the active period of occupation. However, with the exception of the Willamette Mission, these women remain as anonymous shadows to the men. In all cases few or no details are provided in the site reports beyond the names of the women.

Generally, within the ceramic assemblages earthenware is consistently dominant followed by stoneware and ironstone, with porcelain being rare. In regard to decorative methods, transfer prints are most prevalent, while relief molded and sponge decorated wares are distant competitors. Undecorated white wares are present at all sites as are variations of the wheat pattern. The primary difference between the three sites discussed above and Morleyville are the unexplained low numbers of blue-on-white sherds.

The recovery at the Cochrane Rancho of makers' marks which match those found at Morleyville and the contemporaneous occupation dates may indicate that the inhabitants of the sites frequented the same sources of supply. The presence of the Spode/Copeland pattern "Ruins" at Morleyville and Fort Victoria may suggest the same situation or may indicate ceramics which were brought to the site from away or curated.

In the Glassware category the Cochrane Rancho stands alone for the recovery of tablewares which might assist in a discussion of domestic elaboration. Though glass serving trays appear predominantly in the Manager's residence, all other items are found within the three features and conclusions drawn must be arrived at with caution.

At Fort Victoria the HBC hierarchy elevated the company Clerks into the middle-class. Though Forsman (1985) admits that a visitor of the times may not have discerned variation or elaboration of the dining table, the archaeological record does make this distinction. Though there are no identified patterns which can be correlated between the Clerk's house and Morleyville the assemblages still possess a greater similarity than between Morleyville and the assemblage from the Men's house. These similarities lie in the predominance of specific decorative methods (transfer prints) and ware type (earthenware).

The manager's residence at the Cochrane Rancho exhibits an elaboration in the ceramic and tableware assemblages, not unlike that found in the Morleyville assemblage. Specifically, matched sets are found in both house depressions at Morleyville and have been proven in the literature to represent domestic elaboration. "Wheat" patterned sherds/vessels manufactured by the Robert Cochrane company and by W.E. Corn were



recovered from both the Ranche manager's residence and Morleyville. Generally, the Morleyville assemblage exhibits greater similarities with the Manager's residence than the bunkhouse assemblage.

Though it has not been possible to identify the occupants of the house features at Morleyville, the clergy were considered "middle-class" in the Victorian era. By using the three sites discussed in the Intersite Comparison section it was my aim to supply comparative assemblages with which to support, or not, my suspicions of the activity within the domestic sphere at the Morleyville Mission.

The more extensive and varied ceramic assemblages from the three sites have been recovered from the residences of the clergy, the HBC Fort Clerk and the Ranche manager. This in turn may be argued as a representation of domestic elaboration as seen in tablewares within specific dwellings. However, while all of the occupants were considered to be middle-class Victorians their domestic intentions can only be speculated on. It is quite likely that similarities and differences in the assemblages may be more strongly associated with supply sources than domestic elaboration. Indeed, perhaps domestic elaboration could only be as developed and refined as the supply sources would allow for.

## Chapter 8

### CONCLUSIONS

**"Brevity is a virtue"**

(Oscar Wilde)

The Morleyville Mission holds a prominent spot in the historic development of Western Canada. As such, it possesses the potential of providing us with valuable information regarding the cultural life and the lifestyle of its inhabitants. The initial archaeological investigations of 1984-85 have provided a basis for this and, perhaps, for future work to further our understanding of life in this time and place.

The expectations and objective of this thesis were to investigate the domestic sphere with the possibility of highlighting domestic elaboration. The examination of the domestic sphere of the mission has been hampered by the lack of good comparative collections from isolated rural settlements in general, and protestant missions, specifically. As well, the majority, if not all, of the research done to date on domestic elaboration in the Victorian era has been confined to urban households in the eastern United States. Therefore, I can only comment on conclusions drawn from the archaeological record at the Morleyville site. I have found that the archaeological record, rather than validating the expectations and supporting the objective, shows quite the opposite trend. This is not to be construed as a negative outcome to this thesis research, but rather serves to reinforce what all archaeologists are taught as undergraduates: don't just look for what you want to see, see what is there.

From the onset in the earliest levels matched transfer printed earthenware sets were evident and costlier waretypes never became a strong presence. Instead, earthenwares maintained a continued presence and corresponded with the presence of

more utilitarian wares such as ironstone and stoneware. The sherds and reconstructed vessels speak more to a decline in the presence of matched items and an increased presence of "make do" items. The reconstructed porcelain and fine earthenware tea cups and saucers, which appear in later levels, may be examples of display or curated items. While display of "good" items was a trait of Victorian domestic elaboration these items may have been the surviving remnants of earlier attempts at elaboration or simply special items that had been curated.

Given the often rugged living conditions and the difficulty of replacing some items the women may have resigned themselves to doing the best they could under the circumstances. Within the ceramic assemblage there are sherds of several porcelain fruit nappies decorated with a transfer print rose garland pattern. Other sherds were recovered of similar sized vessels and of differing waretypes but decorated with clusters or garlands of similar, though not identical, rose patterns. This can also be seen in the presence of various "wheat" patterns from several manufacturers. Though these vessels were not of a particular set, they were all alike enough to "make do" and present the semblance of a matched dinner setting (Adams 1977:60).

The upper most stratigraphic levels contain a variety of ceramic waretypes and it is in these levels where the presence of what may be curated items (e.g. porcelain tea cups) has its greatest representation. Generally, these later levels contain few sherds of either the "Cloverleaf" or turquoise-on-white scallop-edged sets, both of which were well represented in the earlier levels. This patterning may indicate that the matched sets had been depleted through the years and could not be replaced. The ceramics recovered from the later levels are generally earthenware, ironstone, and stoneware, though of no matched patterns. Here again is a situation where the women of the mission's households would be required to make do with whatever was available from supply sources.

Overall, the ceramic sherds recovered from the site represent an array of colours in the applied decorative methods which corresponds with consumer demands for variety. However, the extremely low numbers of blue-on-white transfer printed

earthenware overall on the site was surprising as this colour was a very popular consumer choice in the late 1800s. I have no explanation for this lack of occurrence.

Historical literature has illustrated the parallels between the Victorian ethos and the Methodist doctrine. Both groups placed great emphasis on the role of women, the domestic sphere and on the importance of a woman's role in making a household a Christian home. This was especially true of the wives of frontier missionaries as these women were to be the bearers of light and gentleness into the wilderness. The Morleyville Mission families were inhabiting a vastly different milieu than the majority of their Victorian contemporaries: frontier versus urban households.

As early as the Georgian era dining became increasingly ritualized as table settings became oriented more towards the recognition of the individual (Deetz 1977:184). By Victorian times a proper middle class table would have been set with a matched dinner setting at each person's place. How realistic is it to presume that a woman, after several years living in cramped, rudimentary accommodations, and several moves by wagon across unsettled territories, would still have domestic resources equivalent to that of her eastern urban counterparts? Though women, such as the McDougall matriarch, Elizabeth (Chantler) McDougall and her daughter-in-law Elizabeth (Boyd), may have been well aware of proper etiquette and the associated rules, their efforts would have been circumscribed by availability of goods. This is not to say that these women would have abandoned all pretense of presenting a proper table, but perhaps it was presented in a means available to them.

Consumer studies show an increase in availability and consumption of household goods by rural households of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Schlereth 1989:341). Numerous factors influence consumer behaviour and it is intertwined with many aspects of culture: ethnicity, political and religious beliefs, and economic status. Even though the women of the mission were aware of the ideologies which influenced their lives, they could only manifest them within the limits of the choices available to them. In short, they did the best they could with what they had.

As archaeologists well know, and the current literature states, the artifacts

themselves are the tangible evidence with which archeologists work. It is by placing these artifacts into a classification system and applying our analysis that we are able to interpret the ways in which individuals constructed their culture (Beaudry et al 1991:154). In essence, we are given a window into the lives of those we study. This is an essential truth in the analysis of the ceramic assemblage at Morleyville. Beaudry et al (1991:172) place a good deal of importance on the symbolic presence and use of ceramics, but this analysis can only be done with a degree of certainty if there is an appropriate comparison available. A primary difficulty in this analysis has been the lack of such a comprehensive comparative collection. In future, should such a collection become available, the findings of this thesis may be given further credence.

What is seen in the archaeological record, and its subsequent interpretation, is only one possible inference of the actual cultural activity on the site and within the households of the mission. It is accepted that data do not speak for themselves, therefore it is up to the researcher to allow alternative voices to be heard. Although the Methodist and Victorian ideologies possess parallels, there remains the possibility that other, as of yet, undetermined factors were at play in the Mission's domestic sphere. These other factors may have been consumer choice and the vagaries of supply, or other realities of frontier life. Perhaps there will eventually be other data available to determine whether the assemblage from Morleyville conforms to domestic patterns specific to Methodist missions. Though the archaeological evidence does not support my initial objectives, this thesis has succeeded in providing important information regarding the domestic lifestyle at the Morleyville Mission.

It is my sincere hope that further studies into the settlement and development of the Canadian west will resolve the questions regarding the domestic sphere at Morleyville. What we think we know is at least a start but the bigger picture of the domestic sphere of women on the frontier still requires in-filling and leaves much to be revealed.

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